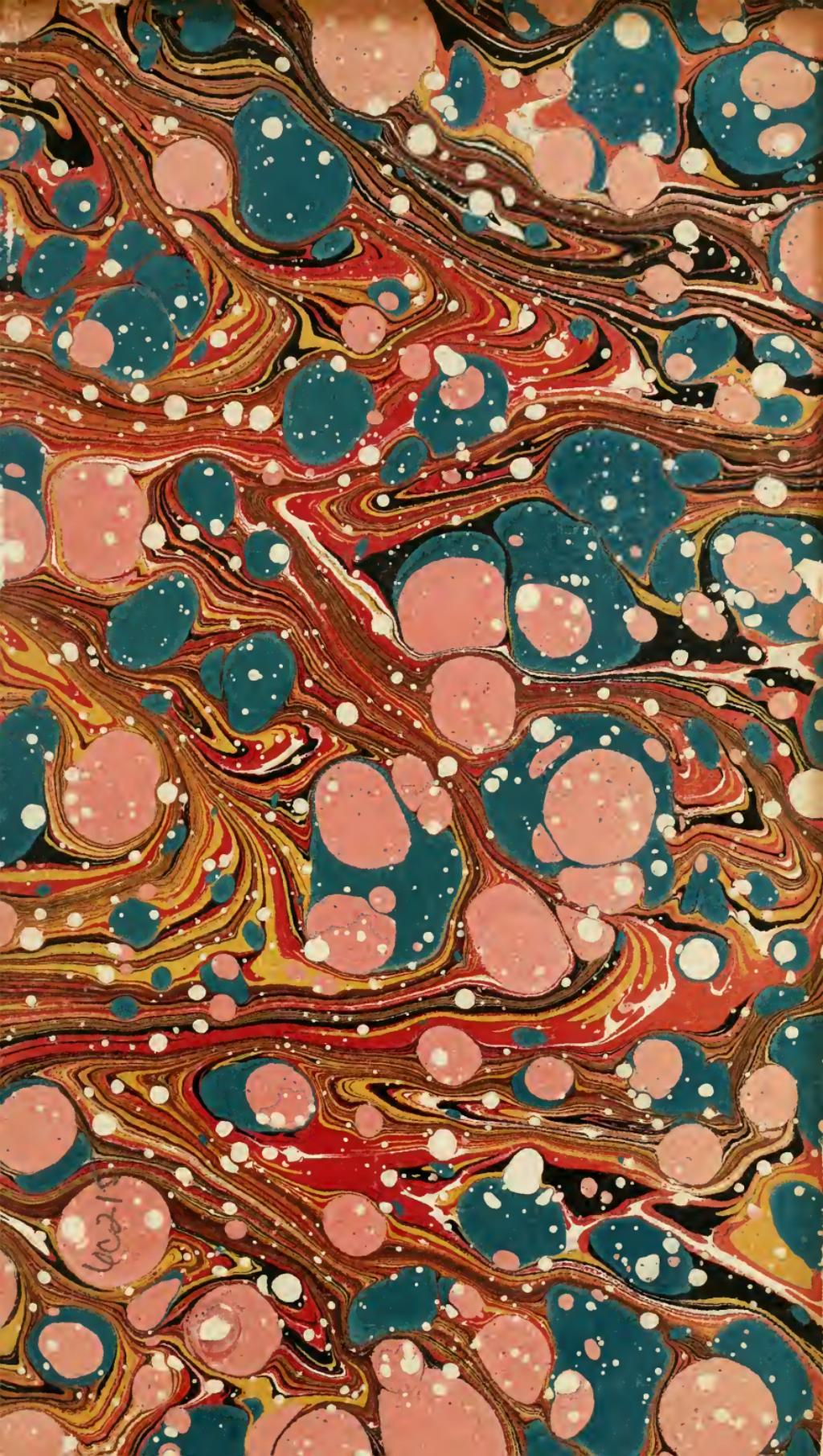


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The
Ancient Liturgy of the Church
of England
ACCORDING TO THE USES OF
SARUM BANGOR YORK & HEREFORD
AND THE MODERN ROMAN
LITURGY

ARRANGED IN PARALLEL COLUMNS
BY THE REV. WILLIAM MASKELL M. A.

Second Edition



London
WILLIAM PICKERING

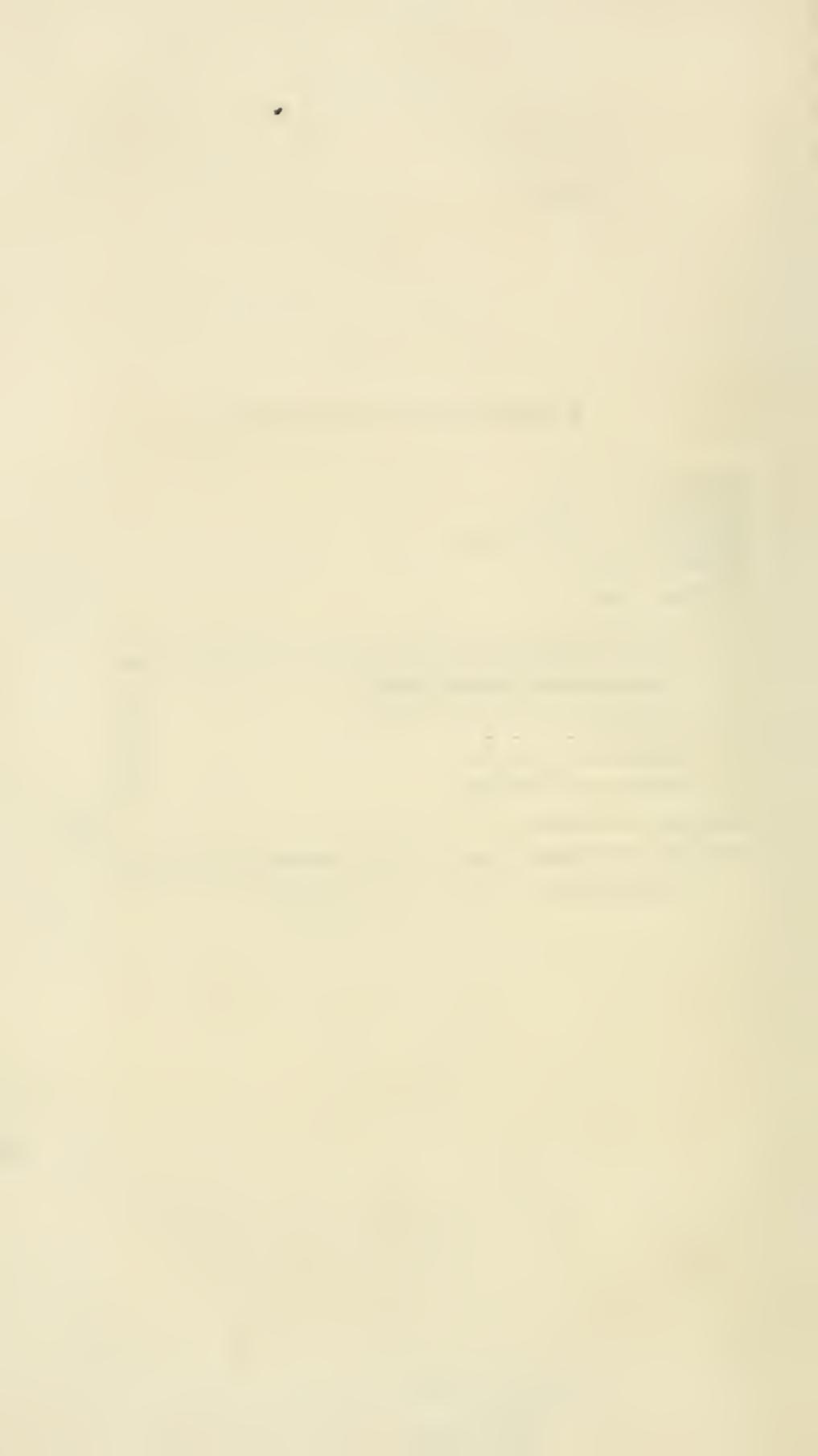
1846

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RESERVUM



Preface.

CHAPTER I.

 N the Admonition entitled “*Concerning the Service of the Church*,” which succeeds, if indeed it does not rather form a part of, the Preface to our present Book of Common Prayer, we find the following :

“ And whereas heretofore there hath been great diversity in saying and singing in Churches within this Realm ; some following *Salisbury* Use, some *Hereford* Use, and some the Use of *Bangor*, some of *York*, some of *Lincoln* ; now from henceforth all the whole realm shall have but one Use.”

In this passage the word *heretofore* does not relate to the time immediately preceding the last review of the Common Prayer in 1662, for during more than 100 years, (with the exception of the period of the rebellion, and heretical ascendancy) there had been only one Use of saying and singing in Churches. We must go back to the beginning of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and beyond that again to the year 1549, when the First Book of King Edward the Sixth having been approved by Convocation, was put forth and enjoined by the authority of the Parliament and the Crown. In the Preface to that Book, there is almost word for word the same injunction.

So, the “*Act for the Uniformity of publick Prayers, and administering the Sacraments and other Rites and Ceremonies, &c. in the Church of England*,” (xiv. Car. II.) begins : “ Whereas in the first year of the late

Queen Elizabeth, there was one uniform Order of Common Service and Prayer, and of the administration of the Sacraments, Rites, and Ceremonies of the Church of England." And the Act alluded to, the first of Elizabeth, refers in like manner to the last year of Edward the Sixth, declaring that then also there was "one uniform Order." These Acts, we may therefore say, recognize the previous existence of various allowed Forms or Uses.

There are certainly some who very imperfectly understand what is meant by these old Uses of the Church of England ; they have often remarked the passage which I have quoted from the Preface to the Prayer Book, and would be glad to learn something about it. Wheatley and Shepherd, authors generally appealed to, pass over without remark "the Preface :" the latter however¹ in his Introduction does say, that "it is deserving of notice, that hitherto there had not been in England any one service established by public authority for the general use of the Church. In the southern parts of the island, the Offices according to the Use of Sarum, and in the northern, those of York, were generally followed. In South Wales the Offices of Hereford were adopted, and in North Wales, those of Bangor, &c. :" and so he passes on. Nor does Dr. Nicholls in his Commentary make any remark upon the passage. Bishop Mant in his selection of Notes upon the Common Prayer, has referred to Sparrow and Dr. Burn, who give no further information upon the subject, except indeed that Osmund, the Bishop of Salisbury, about the year 1070, was the compiler of the Use of Sarum.

*

There are many again, who are better informed, but yet have never had an opportunity of examining any copies of the old service books which still exist, whether from living at a distance from public libraries, or from

¹ Introduction, p. xxxvii.

some other cause. Scarcely two years ago, in the preface to the first edition of this volume, I said my hope was, upon a consideration of the circumstances which I have briefly spoken of above, that an attempt to render accessible these books or portions of them, would not be unacceptable. I may now add, I trust without presumption, that my expectations have been amply realized.

I have alluded to the difficulty of obtaining access to these old books : for so rare are they, that except in the libraries of the Bodleian, the University of Cambridge, and the British Museum, it is almost hopeless to expect to find them : occasionally, in a few instances, we may meet with a single volume, a *Horae*, or a *Manual*, or it may be even a *Missal* : but one book only will do but little for the student ; if he wishes to understand the subject, and to obtain more than a mere smattering of knowledge about it, it can be only after a careful examination and comparison of the many volumes, among which anciently the Offices of the Church of England were distributed.

And there are better reasons even than the fact of rarity, for making an effort to republish, in some form or other, either all or parts of the old books : of late years, the demand for them has increased tenfold, and their price, always great, has naturally increased with the demand : so as to put them, when they do occur, beyond the reach of men who are nevertheless the most anxious to obtain them. This has been one result of a return to a more sound theological study than had characterized the clergy of an age, which has been emphatically styled by the Right Reverend Prelate of this Diocese, in a visitation charge, “an unlearned age.” And it could not but be so : for a chief object of enquiry certainly would be into the faith and practice, into the observances and the worship of their own particular Church, before as well as since the sixteenth century : and in the pursuit of this, they would be no longer content to

rely upon garbled extracts, or the unfounded representations of ignorant and prejudiced, or slanderous historians.²

Before the Reformation the public Offices of the Church of England were not contained, as they now are, in one volume, but in many: they were perfectly distinct from each other, and intended for different purposes. I do not intend in this place to enter into a description of these numerous books, as I have examined at considerable length the whole subject in a Dissertation prefixed to another work, the *Monumenta Ritualia*. It must therefore be sufficient for me to refer the reader there, and extract one passage only from an edition of a *Portiforium secundum usum Sarum*, published by Grafton and Whitchurch in 1544. This has at the beginning, a privilege and license of the King under his great seal to those printers, that they alone should print certain “bookes of devyne servyee, and praier bookes, that is to say, the Masse booke, y^e Graile, the Hympnal, the Antiphoner, the Processyonale, the Manuel, the Porteaus, and the Prymer.” Of these books the “Masse booke” or “the Missal,” contained the rites and ceremonies and prayers to be used in the celebration of the Holy Communion. The “Graile” or “Gradual” contained, often with the notation also, the various Introits, Offertories, Communions, Graduals, Tracts, Sequences and other parts of the Service. This volume was of course necessary for the more solemn performance of the liturgy in choir, and with the full attendance of the officiating priest, and his subordinate ministers.

² Attached to this passage in the first edition, was a note, specifying as an example, a writer of the present day, Mr. Hallam; and I allude to it, because I see no reason for altering the opinion which I

then expressed, though I do not think it necessary to repeat it. The place referred to, is the second Chapter of his Constitutional History of England.

Before we pass on, I purpose first briefly to discuss what the meaning is of the term “Use.” Upon this question, the chief difficulty seems to be, how far, or if at all, we are to include the varieties also which unquestionably existed of music and chanting? How much of ceremonies and rites, besides the bare words and order of the prayers, ought to be included, is another question and rests upon very different grounds: but when we speak of the Use of the Church of Salisbury, or of the Church of York, or Hereford, not only need we not include the chants and music, but rather, if we wish to be precise, altogether exclude the consideration of them.

It has been said, upon the other hand, by writers who take a different view, that the primary bearing of the passage from the Preface to the Common Prayer Book, before quoted “Whereas heretofore, &c.” is “with reference only to the various uses of plain-tune in the several Cathedral choirs,” and it has been doubted “whether there ever was a Lincoln Use in any other sense than a different mode and practice of chanting.”

But when we take up a missal according to the Use of Sarum, and another of Hereford, and a third of York or Bangor: or again a breviary or a manual of Salisbury or York, and compare them, we find most important and numerous variations. The notation may or may not be contained in them; very often of some portions it is, but subordinate, and may or may not differ also; and in many service books, the Horæ for example, is almost always omitted. And, as I have just said, there are numberless variations, which constitute the Use, and distinguish the Offices of one Church from those of another, viz. different prayers: different arrangements of them: different ceremonies to be observed in the administration of the Sacraments: and whether a particular diocese of England anciently adopted the Use of Sarum or the Use of Hereford, would depend upon the acceptance of its manual and missal, and other service books, and have

no necessary reference to its mode of intonation. The diocese of Ely, for example, might observe the Use of the Church of Sarum, and nevertheless adopt the music, allowing, that is, that there were material differences, of the Church of York. Or it might retain some parts of each, with other intonations proper to itself: all which would have no influence upon the Use adopted by the Church of Ely. But if, upon the other hand, a part of the Offices of Sarum, and a part of Hereford, and a part of York, were taken and rearranged, with an observance of this one, and an omission of another; this would constitute a new Use, viz. of the Church of Ely. I do not speak of one or two, and trifling differences; for these might allowably fall under the head of peculiarities.

I do not mean to say that, in an improper and wide sense, we may not include under certain circumstances, the mode of intonation adopted and ordered by any Church, in its Use. Thus, we cannot separate the notation of a noted manual or missal of the Church of Salisbury, from the Use of that Church, at the time when the particular volume, which we may be examining, was written or printed. But the Book would still be the missal or the manual, “secundum usum Sarum,” if there was not one musical note contained in it: or at different periods during the 13th and 14th centuries, the music may have varied very materially, and yet the Use of the Church of Salisbury have continued one and the same.

The references which the rubries, especially of the manual, frequently make to notation, affect not as it appears to me the question in dispute. Some cite, as a proof that the music must necessarily be included within the meaning of the term “Use,” such directions as, “Omnies orationes dicuntur cum ‘Oremus’ sub tono prædicto;” or “dicat Sacerdos sub tono consueto;” or “cum cantu sequenti;” or “dicat Sacerdos orationes sequentes sub tono lectionis;” or, once more, “dicat in

more *praefationis*.” But the ecclesiastical tones to which these rubrics refer, either immediately follow, or precede: or they might be, as especially in the case of the “tone of the lection” or “the tone of the Preface,” well-known and fixed, yet nevertheless not the same tone in every diocese which adhered strictly to the Use of the Church of Sarum or of York. They do not prove that the same music was necessarily to be followed, as were the integral portions of the public offices which made up the “Use.”

I do not deny therefore that the title “secundum usum Sarum,” or “ad usum ecclesiae Eboracensis,” or “Herfordensis,” prefixed to a Breviary, or Hymnal, or Psalter, signifies sometimes in the printed books, not the prayers only but the mode of singing authorized at the time in those dioceses; but then such books must be noted: if they do not contain the music (which is not unfrequently the case even of Psalters and Graduals) they would still be, quite as properly and with the title also, “secundum usum,” as the case may be: and this in its proper sense, relating solely to the variety and arrangement of the prayers, hymns, and Psalter, rites and ceremonies.

Some have said that “the Hymnarium, the Psalter, the Gradual, and the Pontifical,” are Choral Books, and noted, and therefore that we cannot exclude music from the notion of the term “Use.” But not to speak of the utter absurdity of calling a Pontifical a choral book, the others did not necessarily contain the notation: and the Psalter, for example, according to the Use of any Church, is entirely independent of the tones which may accompany it. Hence, when printing became general, we find many examples of the Psalter “secundum usum” of whatever Church it might be, with the lines ruled for the music, which however is not printed also, but left to be filled in with manuscript. This of course would seldom happen in earlier ages, when the entire volumes were

manuscript: and therefore, affords an additional and not a light proof why we must not argue hastily from such expressions, as “*cum tono sequenti*,” and “*dicatur hic cantus*.” Yet, in the same way, in MSS. we occasionally find the services of festivals of late institution, such as of S. Osmund, or of the Transfiguration, or of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin, fully arranged and determined upon “*secundum Usum*:” but the music not written in, although the proper lines and spaces may be left for it.

And it is in the sense in which I have above explained it, that we find the term *Use* employed by the ritualists: it will be unnecessary for me to cite more than one example, from *Gavantus*: who, describing what is meant by the *Breviary* according to the *Use* of the Church of Rome, says it is so called, because it contains the *Prayers* authorized by that Church: and immediately before, in a fuller explanation, he particularizes the *Lessons*, the *Psalms*, *Hymns*, *Legends*, &c. and the *Rubrics* by which each day’s *Office* is to be ascertained; but not one word which has reference to the music.³

It is not improbable that much of the doubt which has been thrown over the term *Use*, has arisen from the frequent occurrence of the verb *canto*: “*cantare missam secundum usum*,” &c. But nothing is more certain than that *Canto* does not always, especially in the earlier writers, mean to sing in the modern acceptation. To adopt the words of a most eminent writer: “*Cantare missam prisorum phrasi illi dicebantur, qui sine cantu, et privatim celebrabant*.”⁴ And so again *Mabillon*, after citing a particular *Canon*, adds: “*Verbum canendo interpretor de privata recitatione, nec aliam interpreta-*

³ *Thesaurus Sacr. Rit. tom. ii. p. 10.* Compare *Mabillon. Disquisitio de Cursu Gallicano. §. 1.*

De Lit. Gall. p. 379.

⁴ *Bona. Rerum Liturg. lib. i. cap. xiii. 5.*

tionem sequentia patiuntur.”⁵ Thus an old “Expositio Missæ,” edited by Cohlæus,⁶ says: “Prima autem oratio super corpus Christi futurum, secreta dicitur, et secrete canitur.” Which the margin explains to be “secreta oratio legitur.” And, once more, a passage in the “Defensorium Directorii” of the Church of Sarum, is very much to the point. “Item illa duo verba quæ ponuntur in multis festis, sic: *Invitatorium triplex*, nihil oneris imponunt sacerdotibus qui dicunt officium suum sine nota: sed solum pertinent ad illos qui cantant officium cum nota.”⁷ Here the Use whether with or without music would continue equally and perfectly the Use of Sarum; and no distinction as regards it, either depends upon, or is involved in the addition of a chant.

But there would be no end of accumulating examples of this sort; and if the reader wishes to examine further the whole subject which I have been discussing, I would recommend him, among other books, especially to read the dissertation of Mabillon “De Cursu Gallicano,” to which reference has already been made, and I think he will be satisfied that music does not form, except in an extended and improper sense, any part of what we ought to understand by the term “Use” of a Church.

One word also, before I pass on, upon the expression in the passage in the Preface to the Common Prayer Book; “the great diversity in saying and singing,” and “now from henceforth all the whole Realm shall have but one Use.” It is possible that the reformers, among their multiplicity of plans, did intend to enforce an uniformity in singing also throughout the realm: but, what-

⁵ *De Cursu Gallicano*. §. 46. *Gerbert de Musica*, tom. i. p. 326. cites the same canon, and explains it “de privata horarum canonica- rum recitatione.” See also p. 355. 559. &c.

⁶ *Speculum Ant. Devotionis*. p. 140.

⁷ *Monumenta Ritualia*. vol. i. p. 344. The reader will there find the whole of that important treatise.

ever they may have meant by the words just quoted, I think that it is quite clear that the First Common Prayer Book of K. Edward, and all succeeding ones, were not in fact aimed at the abolition of varieties of music, but of a variety of prayers, and rites, and ceremonies. This object was effected. A diversity of singing nevertheless continued, not only in different dioceses, but also in different churches of the same diocese: and I am not aware that at present, there is any rule, except the Precentor's pleasure, even for the daily singing in a cathedral. However, we do not conceive the Preface to the Common Prayer to be evaded, or the Act of Uniformity to be broken by this, whatever may be said of other practices. Merbecke, as is well known, about a year after the publication of the First Book, tried something of the sort which the reformers hinted at; but his book was unauthorized, limited in its impression, and never reached a second edition:⁸ which it necessarily must have done, if either the demand for it had been great, or an attempt made to recommend it. Elizabeth in her Injunctions, which were supplemental to *her* Act of Uniformity, and were grounded upon an especial clause in that Act, attempted to supply the deficiency: yet they did not enjoin a particular or *one* mode of singing, but simply that there be “*a modeste and destyncte songe used in all partes of the common prayers in the Churche.*”⁹

The portions of the Missals which are reprinted and arranged in this edition, form but a very small portion of their respective volumes: but by far the most important.

⁸ See however a note in the Dissertation on the Service Books, *Monumenta Ritualia*. vol. i. p. 21.

⁹ The 49th of these Injunctions declares that “because in dyvers Collegiate and also some paryshe

Churches heretofore, there hath ben levynge appointed for the mayntenaunce of men & chyldren to use synging in the church, by meanes whereof the lawdable scienee of musicke hath ben had in estimation and preserved in knowledge: the Quenes maiestie —

In examining them the student must bear in mind, that although he may have expected to find greater and more numerous variations between them, such variations were not likely to occur, even in so large a proportion, in the Ordinary and the Canon. These, especially the last, were parts of the Divine Service which were studiously guarded against alterations, additions, or omissions : and even changes of single words, and differences of arrangement which he will find in them, constitute as decidedly as far more considerable differences in other parts of the books would, a variety of Use. And I do not hesitate to say, that the distinctions of the ancient liturgies of the Church of England, both between themselves, and the modern Roman Use, in the Ordinary and the Canon, are not only as great but greater, and more in number, and involving points of higher consequence, than a previous acquaintance with these matters, before an actual examination of the English missals would have authorized us to expect.

It would be far too extensive a subject of enquiry, for me to attempt even a sketch of the innumerable variations which existed in other parts of the English missals. But, take for example the beginning of the Sanctorale according to the Uses of the Churches of Salisbury and York. The first is the service of the Vigil of S. Andrew. In this, the Psalm, the verse after the gradual, one of the secrets, and one of the post-communions are different. Upon S. Andrew's day, the Psalm again differs. Upon S. Thomas's day, the gradual, the offer-

wylleth and commaundeth, that
fyrste no alteration be made of such
assignementes of levyng but that
the same so remayne. And that
there bee a modeste and destyncte
songe so used in all partes of the
common prayers in the Churche :
that the same maye be as playnelye

understood, as if it were read
without singing."

Injunctions geven by the
Quenes Maiestie. Imprint-
ed by Jugge and Cawood.
Anno. M.D.LIX. Reprinted
in *Cardwell. Doc. Annals.*
i. 196.

tory, and the post-communion are different. Upon the feast of the Conversion of S. Paul, the introit, the Psalm, the sequence, and the post-communion. Upon the feast of the Purification, the sequence, tract, offertory, and secret.

Or again, compare one or two services from the Commune of the missals of Hereford and Bangor. The services “In natali unius martyris et pontificis,” agree only in the Epistle and Gospel. For “many Martyrs,” different lections, graduals, secrets, and communions are appointed. And, once more, in the service for a Confessor and Bishop, the tract, offertory, communion and post-communion are different.

The Ordinary and the Canon therefore occupying, as I have said, only a small part of the Missal, the rest of that volume was filled with the various Collects, Epistles, Gospels, Sequences, Graduals, *etc.* proper to the great festivals and fasts, the sundays, and to especial occasions when the Church offered up especial prayers in behalf, for example, of the king, or in the time of any dearth, or pestilence. These were of course used, at least many of them, only once a year : but the Ordinary and the Canon were daily said.

In these latter, moreover, were contained those rites which have been held from the earliest times to be essential to the valid consecration of the Holy Eucharist. The several collections by Asseman, Renaudot and others, of liturgies which have been used in different Patriarchates of the Catholic Church, contain those portions which are edited in the present volume : the other parts of many are altogether lost, and possibly some of the earlier liturgies had little else beside.¹⁰ As I shall have occasion presently to observe, so here also I may remind the

¹⁰ All that part, (says Bishop Rattray, speaking of the Liturgy of S. James) which precedes the Anaphora, both in this and the other

ancient Liturgies, is a latter addition to the service of the Church, as appears from the account given thereof by Justin Martyr, from the

reader, that the Sacrament of the Supper of the Lord was never, since its institution, administered without the due observance of certain appointed ceremonies and prayers. These of course would be characterized during the first century of the existence of the Church, by a greater simplicity than in after years : and this, solely because many just reasons for the addition of other prayers and rites had not arisen, or they could not from the violence of persecution be allowed their due weight. But as time went on, and the roll of the saints and martyrs increased, commemorations of them were added, and collects, and hymns, and antiphons were increased in number, and the Faithful sought to shew their deep reverence for the Service itself, by a greater solemnity in its performance ; all which was well fitting to the Church of Christ, when she was no longer driven to celebrate her mysteries in secret places, and hurriedly, and with the constant dread of cruel interruption.

Clementine Liturgy, and from the 19th canon of the Council of Laodicea. By comparing of which with other ancient authorities, we plainly find that the service of the Church began with reading of the Scriptures, intermixed with psalmody ; after which followed the sermon. Then the *ἀκροωμένοι* and *ἀπιστοι*, the *hearers* and *unbelievers*, being dismissed, there followed in order, the bidding prayer of the deacon, and the collect of the bishop, first for the catechumens : then after they were dismissed, for the energumens : and after they were dismissed for the competentes or candidates for baptism : and lastly, after dismissing them likewise, for the penitents. Then all these being dismissed, the Missa Fidelium, or *Service of the Faithful*, began with the *ἐυχῇ δια*

σιωπῇ, the *silent or mental prayer*, which is the first of the three prayers mentioned in the Laodicean Canon : the second and third are said to be *δια προσφωνησεως*. And these are the *ἐυχαὶ ποιαὶ καὶ ὑπερ ἔκαυτων*—*καὶ ἀλλων πανταχού παντων* in S. Justin. Then after the priests washing their hands and the kiss of peace and the *μητις κατα τινος*, the deacons brought the *δῶρα*, the *gifts* of the people, to the bishop, to be by him placed on the altar : and he having prayed secretly by himself, and likewise the priests, and making the sign of the cross, with his hand, upon his forehead, says the Apostolical Constitutions, began the Anaphora.

Ancient Liturgy of S. James.
Pref. 3.

CHAPTER II.



THE chief Liturgies which have been preserved are those which are called St. James's, St. Mark's, St. Chrysostom's, St. Basil's, the Roman, and preeminent above all these, of an acknowledged greater antiquity than any, the Clementine. As I have reprinted this liturgy of St. Clement at the end of the present volume, it seems necessary that I should make one or two remarks, by which it is to be hoped the reader will be able to judge its value.

Theological questions and doctrines of the highest importance, are involved in enquiries into the origin and relative authority of the ancient liturgies. Some writers upon the subject have boldly argued that the Apostles themselves left an accurate Form, not merely of the doctrine of the sacrament of the Blessed Eucharist, but of rites and ceremonies and prayers, in short, a *Liturgy*, according to which it should be administered: and that this still exists either in the liturgy of Antioch, or Alexandria, or Rome. Those who hold this opinion chiefly rely upon a passage in a treatise, generally attributed to Proclus, Bishop of Constantinople in the 5th Century, in which the writer states that the Apostles whilst they were together at Jerusalem, before their dispersion into various quarters of the world, were accustomed daily to meet and celebrate the Holy Communion; “et cum multam consolationem in mystico illo Domini Corporis sacrificio positam reperissent, fusissime, longoque verborum ambitu missam decantabant.”¹¹ S.

¹¹ See the whole passage cited in *Gerbert, De Cantu.* tom. i. p. 94. And in *Bona. Rerum Liturg.* tom. i. p. 75.

Chrysostom also, (cited by Cardinal Bona,) in his 27th Homily, enquires ; “ *Cum sacras Cœnas accipiebant Apostoli, quid tum faciebant? nonne in preces convertebantur et hymnos?* ”

On the other hand it has been argued that the founder of each Church required his converts to observe some certain rites, which were essential to the validity of the sacrament, and left them at liberty to add to these, other prayers and ceremonies as they might think proper. One thing is very certain ; that the Holy Scriptures give us little information upon the subject : the institution of the Supper of the Lord is related by three of the Evangelists, and by St. Paul in the 1st Epistle to the Corinthians : we are told that our Blessed Lord took bread, and blessed it, and said, “ This is my Body,” and in like manner that he took the cup, and blessed it, and said, “ This is my Blood : ” but the words which He used in blessing, and the exact form are not recorded.

That there was some Form observed in the first communion which was celebrated by the Apostles after the resurrection of their Lord, I think, we cannot doubt : nor, that they who had been partakers and witnesses at the institution of the sacrament would be very careful, in their after celebrations, to imitate as far as possible the Saviour’s example. Indeed, this was a Divine command : what He had done, they were to do ; what He had said, they were to say ; what He had offered, they were to offer ; and power also was given to them, and through them, to the whole Church for ever, of altering, or adding to, or taking away from time to time, either prayers, or ceremonies, or rites, provided that they were not of the essence of the sacrament, and were intended to meet the requirements of various ages, climates, and countries, or to encrease the solemnity of the celebration, or to promote the devotion of the people. And it was this power which St. Paul claimed so unhesitatingly, as having been bestowed by our Blessed Lord, when in the

same epistle before spoken of to the Corinthians, and upon the very subject of the Eucharist, he adds: "And the rest will I set in order when I come."¹²

I must here consider a famous passage of Gregory the Great: in which it has been said that he asserts, and therefore he has often been called in to prove, that the Apostles used no other prayer or ceremony than the Lord's Prayer only. The words of S. Gregory are. "Orationem dominicam idecirco mox post precem dicimus, quia mos apostolorum fuit, ut ad ipsam solum modo orationem, oblationis hostiam consecrarent. Et valde mihi inconveniens visum est, ut precem, quam scholasticus compo- suerat, super oblationem diceremus, et ipsam traditio- nem, quam Redemptor noster composuit, super ejus Corpus et Sanguinem non diceremus."¹³ But all writers agree, (that is, supposing the passage not to be corrupt,) either that this assertion of S. Gregory is incorrect, or that he himself intended more than the Lord's Prayer to be understood. His argument, as it seems to me, is not that the Lord's Prayer only was used by the Apostles, but that neither they did, nor we ought to perform the whole service without reciting it. As Cardinal Bona observes,¹⁴ with whom agrees Le Brun,¹⁵ at least the words of Institution must have been added; "additis procul dubio verbis consecrationis."

That something must be added to qualify the state- ment of S. Gregory is clear from the account of a very

¹² Ch. xi. v. 34. Conf. *Van Es- pen*. Jus. Eccles. Pars. II. sect. i. tit. v. and *S. Augustin.* Epist. liv. § 8. Also the place in *Renaudot.* "Verba Christi ad Apostolos, hoc facite in meam commemorationem, præceptum celebrandæ ex instituto Christi Eucharistiae continent: formam qua celebrari deberet, non ex- primunt. Nemo tamen Christianus

dubitavit, quin eamdem edicti fuerint a Domino Apostoli, ut alia omnia quæ ad religionem Christianam constituendam pertinebant. Ab Apostolis acceperunt illam eorum discipuli. etc." *Dissert.* p. 2.

¹³ Lib. ix. epist. 12.

¹⁴ Tom. i. p. 75.

¹⁵ Opera. tom. ii. p. 82.

early writer, the author of the *Gemma Animæ*: “ Mis-sam in primis Dominus Jesus, sacerdos secundum ordinem Melchisedech, instituit, quando ex pane et vino corpus et sanguinem suum fecit, et memoriam sui, suis celebrare hæc præcepit: hanc Apostoli auxerunt, dum super panem et vinum verba quæ Dominus dixit, et dominicam orationem dixerunt. Deinde successores eorum epistolas et evangelia legi statuerunt, alii cantum, et alii alia adjecerunt qui decorem domus Domini dilexerunt.”¹⁶ And another, Walafrid Strabo, who lived some centuries earlier and not long after S. Gregory, speaking of the practice of primitive ages, “ primis temporibus,” declares that although the Holy Communion was celebrated with more simplicity than afterwards, yet “ præmissa oratione Dominica, et sicut ipse Dominus noster præcepit, commemoratione passionis ejus adhibita eos corpori Dominico communicasse et sanguini, quos ratio permittebat.”¹⁷

Or again, the whole place from S. Gregory is made agreeable to every other testimony of antiquity, by rendering the word “ad” in the sense of “post;” of which examples might be found in the best writers: and he would therefore only intend to say, that before the consecration of the sacred elements, the Apostles were accustomed to repeat only the Lord’s Prayer: and afterwards consecrate the Eucharist. Which leaves the whole question, except as to the ancient position of that prayer in the Service, exactly where it was before.¹⁸

It is not improbable that sometimes during the violence of persecutions, when the Faithful were forced to meet at

¹⁶ Lib. i. cap. 86.

“ Quum sine tabulis ac testibus id

¹⁷ De rebus Eccles. cap. xxii.
Bibl. Patrum. Auct. tom. i. p. 680.

ab eo affirmatum fuerit, consensum
minime extorquet a nobis. Et præ-

¹⁸ Muratori, after citing the pas-
sage from S. Gregory, adds:

“ quod aliter senserint antiqui-
ores Ecclesiae Patres.” *Dissert. de
rebus Lit.* col. 10.

night and in places the most obscure, the Blessed Eucharist was administered with the fewest possible rites, and even the necessary prayers abbreviated. These were extraordinary cases, which afford no argument against the general tradition up to the apostolic age: and upon the point that the earliest Form could not have been very short, Justin Martyr is a sufficient evidence: the text also from the 1st Epistle of St. Paul to Timothy, which all the best commentators agree, relates to the celebration of the Eucharist. “I exhort therefore that first of all, supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giving of thanks be made, for all men; for kings, and for all that are in authority.”¹⁹ Neither must we forget that the first Christian converts, whether Jews or Gentiles, had been accustomed to the observance of ceremonies and long prayers; and there does not seem any reason to believe, even if we had no evidence upon the other hand, that the Apostles would so far oppose their prejudices in this respect, as to celebrate the highest and most solemn mysteries only by the bare use of the words, “This is My Body; This is My Blood:” and, of the Lord’s Prayer.

I have delayed to examine at some little length the above assertion of S. Gregory, on account of the importance which by many writers has been attached to it; especially by those who are always anxiously on the watch for every shadow of argument, by which they can hope to controvert the steady voice of all antiquity, which declares, that from the time of the Apostles downwards some Form, some Liturgy, was always used in every branch of the Catholic Church. Whether the same Form was at first enjoined exactly in all the Churches, the variations in the antient liturgies render doubtful: but their constant agreement in substance, and their uniform observance in the same order of some

¹⁹ Ch. ii. v. 1.

rites, make it certain that the Apostles did at any rate require that order, and declare that those rites are essential. And we do not trace the establishment of these to any canons of councils, nor do we name any age or place in which they were not observed: so that the rule of S. Augustine comes in, with a force not to be resisted: “Quod universa tenet Ecclesia, nec a conciliis institutum, sed semper retentum est, non nisi auctoritate Apostolica traditum rectissime creditur.”²⁰

Hence, (manifest interpolations having been removed,) there are no differences in the ancient liturgies which may not be attributed to the legitimate power vested in the Bishop of each diocese, and more especially in each Patriarch, to arrange the public Service of the people, over whom he was appointed.²¹ That there should have

²⁰ De Baptismo. *lib. iv. cap. 24.*

²¹ “Etsi nulla supersit cum Occidentalium, tum Orientalium Ecclesiarum Liturgia, quæ eamdem omnino faciem retineat, quam primis sæculis Christianæ religionis sortita fuit: certum tamen est, vel ipsis iis sæculis incruentum Sacrificium celebratum semper fuisse, et preces et ritus, hoc est Liturgiam adhibitam in actione, quæ omnium præstantissimum Mysterium complectitur. Accesserunt sensim aliæ Preces, Orationes et Ritus pro diversa Episcoporum pietate et inge-
nio, &c.”

Muratori. *Dissert. cap. ix. 119.*

“At nihil simile circa Liturgias Orientales et Occidentales observari potest, cum omnes inter se ita conveniant, ut ab uno fonte, Apostolorum scilicet exemplo et præceptis ad omnes Ecclesias permanasse certissime agnoscantur. Neque aliunde tanta in sanctissimis myste-

riis celebrandis conformitas, quam ex communi et omnibus nota traditione nasci potuit, cum Jacobus, qui antiquissimus eorum est, quorum nominibus Liturgiae insignitæ sunt, nihil præceperit de vino aqua miscendo, de pronunciandis verbis Christi Domini, de invocando super dona proposita Spiritu Sancto, demittenda absentibus, aut ægrotantibus Eucharistia, ut nec de multis aliis, quæ tamen ubique recepta fuisse et usu quotidiano Ecclesiarum frequentata negari non potest. Nihil princeps Apostolorum Petrus, aut Antiochiæ, aut Romæ scripsisse legitur, nihil Paulus, nihil alii: sed quod acceperant a Domino idem tradebant novis Christianis. Multo minus Basilius et Chrysostomus novas offerendi sacrificii Eucharistici formas instituere poterant: ut neque a Gelasio primum aut a Gregorio magno Romana missa, neque ab Ambrosio Ambrosia-

been an exact agreement, both in words and ceremonies, cannot be expected; but the varieties were not of such consequence, or in so great a number as to affect the unity of the Faith. "Multæ pro locorum et hominum diversitate variantur," says Firmilian in his Epistle to S. Cyprian, "nec tamen propter hoc ab ecclesiæ catholice pace atque unitate discessum est." They who will not acknowledge any agreement, because in some matters of less consequence they find much variety, might as well expect a sameness throughout the world of civil rights, and customs, and observances. Not so argued one of our own Archbishops, S. Anselm. "Queritur vestra reverentia de sacramentis Ecclesiæ: quoniam non uno modo fiunt ubique, sed diversis modis in diversis locis tractantur. Utique si per universam Ecclesiam uno modo et concorditer celebrarentur; bonum esset et laudabile. Quoniam tamen multæ sunt diversitates, quæ non in substantia sacramenti, neque in virtute ejus, aut fide discordant; neque omnes in unam consuetudinem colligi possunt: æstimo eas potius in pace concorditer tolerandas, quam discorditer cum scandalo damnandas. Habemus enim a sanctis Patribus, quia si unitas servatur charitatis in fide Catholica, nihil officit consuetudo diversa. Si autem quæritur unde istæ natae sunt consuetudinum varietates: nihil aliud intelligo, quam humano-rum sensuum diversitates."²²

na, Gothica a Leandro, Gallicana
vetus a Gallicanis episcopis factæ
sunt. Verum cum nota esset om-
nibus vetus et Apostolica forma,
quæ paucis verbis constabat, eam
omnes secuti sunt, nec ab ea recesserunt: orationes quæ inter sacra
dicebantur, eum multæ essent, sele-
gerunt, novas etiam addiderunt,
tandemque ne perturbatio inter fi-
deles naseeretur, quasdam perscrip-
serunt, et hæc origo fuit diversitatis

liturgiarum." *Renaudot.* vol. i. 14.

²² Ad Waleranni querelas, Re-
sponsio. *Opera.* p. 139. Com-
pare also S. Augustin, *Epist.* 54.
S. Jerome, *Epist.* 28. and Ivo Car-
notensis, *Epist.* 2. Cited by Bona-
tom. i. p. 90. Also, Catalani, *Pro-
legomena in Pontif. Rom.* cap. ii.
6. Azevedo. *De Divino Officio.*
Exercit. x. Pinius. *De Mozar. Lit.*
cap. i. § 1.

This power, which from the nature of the office of the episcopate was vested in the Bishops of the Church, to accommodate the rites of public worship to the requirements of their people, was very moderately exercised, though fully allowed and in reality unlimited, so long as the essentials of the eucharistical service were preserved, and nothing introduced which was obnoxious to the One Holy Catholic Faith. During the first three centuries there were more reasons than in after-years, why individual Bishops should not hesitate, upon their sole authority, to make, if they thought it desirable, even considerable alterations in the liturgies of the Church. For, upon every occasion of doubt or difficulty which arose, they could not, in the persecutions to which they were exposed, ask advice of other of their brethren, much less meet together in a General Council. But when they did so meet, it is clear from some canons of two of the earliest councils whose records have come down to us, that liturgical and ritual matters were not overlooked. Thus the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th, the 8th, 9th, and 41st of the Apostolical canons, and several also of the Eliberitan council have reference to such points.

Herc we approach another question: in what age were liturgies first committed to writing? Some have contended that the Apostles were themselves the authors of those several liturgies which claim their names: but so great is the majority against them, that we may say it is agreed upon, that they were not. There is no account of any such composition in the works of the first fathers: and surely, if no others had, Origen or Jerome would have made some mention of it. Councils, at least the very early ones, are silent, and these would have appealed to a written Apostolic liturgy, if they could, against the errors and teaching of heretics. Both Tertullian, when speaking of the eucharistical rites,²³ and

²³ De Corona. c. 4.

S. Cyprian,²⁴ upon the question of mixing water with the wine, appeal to tradition only: which we can scarcely conceive they would have done, had they known of any liturgy written by an Apostle. If, once more, such ever existed, it would probably have been among the number of Canonical Books, and so included in the 60th canon of the council of Laodicea. Any addition to, or alteration in it, must have been instantly disallowed; but we know that alterations were very anciently made, and prayers if not essential left out, or inserted, in some of the liturgies claiming to be Apostolic.

The date at which they were first committed to writing is open to far more dispute; perhaps, not for the first two centuries. Renaudot is clearly of this opinion; he says it is beyond all controversy, and cites S. Basil, *De Spiritu Sancto*, cap. 27. The place is of great importance, in more respects than in its bearing upon this question, and I shall therefore extract it, according to the text of the Paris edition, 1839. “Οἰον (ίνα του πρωτου καὶ κοινοτάτου πρωτον μνησθώ) τῷ τυπῷ του σταυρου τους εἰς το ονομα του Κυριου ήμων Ἰησού Χριστου ηλπικοτας κατασημανεσθαι, τις ὁ δικ γραμμικος διδαξας; Το προσ ανατολας τετραφθαι κατα την προσευχην, ποιον εδιδαξεν ήμας γραμμα; Τα της επικλησεως ρηματα επι τη αναδειξει του αρτου της Ευχαριστιας και του ποτηριου της ευλογιας, τις των ἀγιων εγγραφως ήμιν καταλελοιπεν; Ου γαρ δη τοιτοις αρκουμεθα, ὡν ὁ αποστολος η το ευαγγελιου επεμνησθη, αλλα και προλεγομεν και επιλεγομεν ἔτερα, ὡς μεγαλην εχοντα προ το μυστηριον την ισχυν, εκ της αγραφου διδασκαλιας παραλαβοντες. Ευλογουμεν δε το τε ὑδωρ του βαπτισματος, και το ελαιον της χριστεως, και προσετι αυτον τον βαπτιζομενον. Απο ποιων εγγραφων; Ουκ απο της σιωπωμενης και μυστικης παραδοσεως; Τι δε; αυτην του ελαιου την χρισιν τις λογος γεγραμμενος εδιδαξε; Το δε τρις βαπτιζεσθαι τον ανθρωπον, ποθεν; Αλλα δε ὅσα περι το βαπτισμα, αποτασσεσθαι τῷ σατανᾷ και τοις αγγε-

λοις αυτου, εκ ποιας εστι γραφη; Ουκ εκ της αδημοσιευτου ταυτης και απορρητου διδασκαλιας, ην εν απολυπραγμοντω και απεριεργαστω σιγη οι πατερες ήμων εφυλαξαν, καλως εκεινο δεδιδαγμενοι, των μυστηριων το σεμνον σιωπη διασωζεσθαι; ” Renaudot however and Le Brun who agrees with him, and even goes so far as to assert that for four hundred years no liturgy was written, interpret the words of S. Basil in a sense which he certainly did not himself intend. His argument in that part of his treatise is directed solely to the question of the canonical and sacred Scriptures: nor is it unusual for that father to speak of customs and rites as unwritten, which are not found expressly so laid down and explained.

Another argument by which we may conclude that until the end of the second century liturgies were not committed to writing, is, as Renaudot observes, that although we find frequent mention made of the Scriptures being given up to the heathens through fear of punishment or death, we have no instance of any book of ceremonies or public worship: neither would the persecutors have inquired so cruelly by torture, what mode of offering and sacrifice the Christians observed, if they could have procured a written liturgy.

Upon the other hand, as I have already said, it has been argued that liturgies were in all ages written: and the chief difficulty of unwritten Forms seems to be, that the length of them would have rendered it impossible that, generally, priests should have been able to celebrate without a book. But it is not necessary for us to suppose that more than the solemn portions were preserved and handed down unwritten: certainly the psalms, and lections from the Scriptures, the Epistles, and the Gospels, and very probably long prayers and thanksgivings also were not forbidden to be written: and therefore we may conclude that in its strict sense, no liturgy was written for some ages, because certain indispensable and essential rites which constitute a Liturgy, were handed

down by tradition only. And we have a very remarkable proof how late this disinclination to commit those parts to writing was cherished in the western Church, from a letter from Innocent I. to a Bishop, Decentius: who had applied to him for the Roman Use; “Sæpe Dilectionem tuam ad urbem venisse, ac nobisum in ecclesia convenisse non dubium est, et quem morem vel in consecrandis mysteriis, vel in eaeteris agendis arcanis teneat, cognovisse; quod sufficere arbitrarer ad informationem ecclesiæ tuæ, vel reformationem, si prædecessores tui minus, aut aliter tenuerint.”²⁵

It was from a holy reverence that the Church required her priests thus to celebrate from memory. Among her doctrines none were so scrupulously concealed, little less from the catechumen than from the unbeliever, as were those connected with the Blessed Eucharist. It was not from her admitted children that she sought to hide them, but from men who were her avowed enemies, or unproved candidates for her privileges. She knew and remembered her Lord's command, “Give not that which is holy unto the dogs, neither cast ye your pearls before swine, lest they trample them under their feet, and turn again and rend you.”

Henee therefore it was that, except in the 1st Epistle to the Corinthians, S. Paul in all his writings has not made any plain mention of this Sacrament; and then there was abundant reason, from the necessity of the case, not only why he should speak of it, but openly and freely. For the very abuse which he was endeavouring to correct, viz: permitting unworthy persons, and perhaps not even members of the Church to be present at the Holy Communion, had admitted these already to the knowledge of much connected with the solemnities of the celebration of it. As a very learned writer has

²⁵ Cited by *Le Brun*. *Opera. tom. ii. p. 18.*

further observed: "it was not in the Apostle's power to conceal the outward part of the mystery from them, who by the countenance of their new teachers had been emboldened to break in upon the Eucharist, without being duly qualified; and therefore the only way that he had left to him, to prevent their further contempt and abuse of it, was to let them into the fuller knowledge of it."²⁶ Such an exception, as we can see so evidently the cause of it, confirms the rule which it is not to be denied S. Paul appears most carefully at all other times to have observed.

And we have further proof how carefully our Saviour's caution was obeyed from the very obscure manner in which the ante-Nicene fathers, when they speak at all, speak of the Eucharist: so obscure indeed, especially near the apostolic age, that none could understand their import except those who had been fully admitted into the communion of the Church. No article relating to it was inserted into any Creed; and the very probable reason has been given, which must occur to every reader, that Creeds were forms of faith, to be taught the catechumens in order to their baptism: but not so the Eucharist; which was considered too sacred to be spoken of in words at length, but to the *perfect* only.²⁷ Take also,

²⁶ *Johnson.* Unbloody Sacrifice. Vol. 1. p. 57. The same writer has some very forcible remarks upon the omission by S. Paul in the Epistle to the Hebrews, of any notice of the prefiguration of the Christian Sacrifice, in the oblation of Melchisedeck: there was apparently, but for some powerful motive, every reason why he should then enter into it: and this, as S. Jerom tells us, was because he thought it not proper to discourse of that Sacrament familiarly to people, not yet

settled in the Faith. "Difficultatem rei proœmio," says that Father, in his epistle to Evagrius, "exaggerat dicens, *super quo multus est nobis sermo interpretabilis*, non quia Apostolus id non potuit interpretari, sed quia illius temporis non fuerit. Hebræis enim, id est Juðæis, persnadebat, non jam fidelibus, quibus sacramentum passim proderet."

²⁷ Upon this, Johnson has the following. Unbl. Sacrifice. Vol. 1. p. 235. "The reasons they had for the

for example, the famous passage in S. Justin: in a part of his *Apology*, where he is giving an account of the

concealment of these mysteries (of the Sacraments) were in sum, to shew the great esteem they had of them, and which they by this means endeavoured to imprint upon all that were admitted to the knowledge and enjoyment of them: and at the same time to guard, and if possible secure them from the flouts and objections of Jews and heathens, and of all whom they thought too light and frothy, to be entrusted with things so very weighty and serious, and yet of so peculiar a nature, that there was nothing in the world, that could in all respects be compared to them. For they justly believed that a Divine Power went along with the Sacraments, which was reason enough why they should set the highest value upon them, and desire that others should do so too; and yet they knew the visible signs of these Sacraments to be *beggarly elements*, things in their own nature very cheap and common; and they might without the gift of prophecy, easily foresee, that the enemies of Christianity would always be ringing in the ears of all that were well affected to Christianity (as the Deists and Quakers are perpetually labouring to persuade our people) that there can be no such effects of Water, Bread, and Wine, as priests of the Christian Church would have them believe. And there is one thing peculiar to the Eucharist, which made it more liable to scoffs, than any other part of our religion;

which is that the Bread and Wine were believed to be the very Body and Blood of Christ; no wonder if they were much upon the reserve in this point; since all must be sensible, that nothing in the Christian Theology, could have afforded more agreeable entertainment to the drolls and buffoons of the age; for whatsoever is most extraordinary, and elevated above the condition of other things, which seem to be of the same sort, lies most exposed to profane wit and mirth, when that which gives it its worth and excellency, can only be believed and not seen: and no doubt *Tertullian* spoke the sense of all the learned Fathers of his own, and of the succeeding times, in those observable words, ‘Nil adeo quod obduret mentes hominum, quam simplicitas Divinorum operum, quæ in actu videtur; et magnificentia, quæ in effectu repromittitur.’ ”

This very scarce work of John Johnson, has been long promised in a new edition: which is much to be wished for, as it would undoubtedly be productive of the best effects, in establishing a more sound view of the doctrine of the Blessed Eucharist, than, I am afraid, generally exists amongst us. It is not without faults: but as a whole, it reflects honour upon the Church of which its author was a Priest, and may claim a place in the highest rank of our standard works, for learning, judgment, and acuteness of reasoning.

ceremonies of the Christians in their common worship; how carefully he speaks, how anxiously he seems to weigh every word, lest he should say, even upon such an occasion, too much. “Upon the day called Sunday,” he tells us, “we have an assembly of all who live in the towns or in the country, who meet in an appointed place: and the records of the Apostles, or the writings of the Apostles are read, according as the time will allow. And when the reader leaves off, the President²⁸ (*ὁ προεστως*) in a discourse admonishes and exhorts us to imitate such good examples. Then we all stand up together and pray: and, as we before said, when that prayer is finished, bread is offered, and wine and water. And the President then also, with all the earnestness in his power (*όση δυναμις αυτω²⁹*) sends up prayers and thanksgivings. And the people conclude the prayer with him, saying, Amen. Then distribution is made of the consecrated elements: which are also sent to such as are absent by the deacons.”

Such is S. Justin’s description of the celebration of the Eucharist upon the Lord’s Day, or Sunday, as the fathers usually call it in their apologies, because it happened upon the day which was dedicated to the sun, and therefore best known to the heathens by that name. In the section immediately preceding, he relates in almost the same language, the manner in which the newly baptized was admitted to and received his first communion, in which one circumstance is added, viz. the kiss: and thus, short and obscure as this account

²⁸ That is, the Bishop: and so Reeves renders the word. See his note upon the passage. Vol. I. p. 107.

²⁹ Compare, from the thanksgiving in the Clementine Liturgy, “ευχαριστουμεν σοι, Θεε παντο-

κρατορ, ουκ οσον οφειλομεν, αλλ’ οσον δυναμεθα.” This has reference to a written liturgy, and there seems no ground for the opinion of those who would argue from these words of S. Justin, for the use of extemporary prayer in the Service of the Holy Communion.

must at the time have appeared, we can clearly trace these important parts of the Holy Service: the general and the eucharistical prayer; the kiss of peace; the oblation of the elements; the mixture of water with the wine; the consecration of the elements, then no longer common bread and common wine,³⁰ but the Body and the Blood of Christ; and their after distribution to those present, or communion. Let us not, by the way, pass on without remembering, that there would have been no need of so much carefulness to conceal these mysteries from the world, from those who were without, if the Eucharist had been indeed nothing more than what later ages have endeavoured to reduce it to, a mere refreshing of our memories, or a renewal of our covenant, or a symbol of mutual love. But from this jealousy arose the evil of unjust accusations against the Christians,³¹ which, although terrible, they were content to bear, unprovoked to further explanation, with the bare reply of an indignant and unhesitating denial.

I shall digress for one moment upon the important assertion of S. Justin, and of S. Irenæus (in the note),

³⁰ S. Justin Apol. I. 66. p. 83. Edit. 1742. See also S. Irenæus, *Cont. Hær.* b. 4, c. 18. “Ωσγαραπογις αρτος προσλαμβανομενος την επικλησιν του Θεου, ουκετι καινος αρτος εστιν, αλλ’ ευχαριστια, εκ δυο πραγματων συνεστηκυια, επιγειου τε και ουρανιου· ουτως και τα σωματα ήμων μεταλαμβανοντα της ευχαριστιας μηκετι εισι φθαρτα, την ελπιδα της εις αιωνας αναστασεως εχοντα.”

³¹ Cardinal Bona says of the heathens, “quia aliquid subobscure perceperant de Sacramento corporis, et sanguinis Christi, accusabant eos de cæde infantis et epulū Thyestis. *Dicimur sceleratissimi,*

ait Tertullianus *Apolog.* cap. 7, *de sacramento infanticidii, et pabulo, inde et post convirium incesto.* Cæcilius apud Minutium: *Infantis sanguinem sitienter lambunt, hujus certatim membra disperciunt, hac fæderantur hostia.* Justinus Martyr in *dialogo cum Tryphone:* *An ros etiam de nobis creditis, homines nos vorare, et post epulum lucernis extinctis nefario concubitu promiscue involvi?* Theophilus ad *Autolycum,* lib. 3. *Istud præterea et crudelissimum et immanissimum est, quod nobis intendunt crimen, nos humanis carnibus resvi.*” *Rerum Liturgie.* lib. 1. 4. 3.

that after consecration the elements are no longer to be looked upon as common Bread and Wine. So speaks S. Ambrose, to an objector : “ *Forte dicas : Aliud video, quomodo tu mihi asseris quod Christi corpus accipiam ? et hoc nobis adhuc superest ut probemus. Quantis igitur utimur exemplis ? Probemus non hoc esse quod natura formavit, sed quod benedictio consecravit : majoremque vim esse benedictionis quam naturae : quia benedictione etiam natura ipsa mutatur.* — *Ipse clamat Dominus Jesus ; Hoc est corpus meum. Ante benedictionem verborum coelestium alia species nominatur, post consecrationem corpus significatur. Ipse dicit sanguinem suum. Ante consecrationem aliud dicitur, post consecrationem sanguis nuncupatur. etc.* ”³² Again, in a remarkable place of his homilies, S. Cyril of Alexandria plainly lays down the same doctrine, as if our Blessed Lord invites His people to partake, still, of bread and wine ; but of something more. “ *δευτε, φαγετε τον εμον αρτον, και πιετε οινον, ον εκερασα ιμιν εγω εμαυτον εις βρωσιν ήτοι μαρα, εγω εμαυτον τοις ποθουσι με εκερασα.* ”³³ And once more ; S. Irenæus, to the same effect. “ *Quando ergo et mixtus calix, et factus panis perceptit verbum Dei, et fit Eucharistia sanguinis et corporis Christi, ex quibus augetur et consistit carnis nostrae substantia ; quomodo carnem negant capacem esse donationis Dei — quæ de calice, qui est sanguis ejus, nutritur ; et de pane, quod est corpus ejus, augetur ?* ”³⁴

To the above, which are but very few out of many

³² *De Mysteriis.* Cap. IX. *Opera.* Tom. 2. p. 338. This and one or two quotations which follow, are purposely taken from a valuable collection of treatises and extracts from the Fathers, to illustrate the 39 Articles, printed at the Press of the University of Cambridge, and therefore with some kind of autho-

rity attached. *Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Vindex Catholicus.* Cambr. 1843. 3 vols. *ride 3. p. 266.*

³³ *Opera.* Tom. v. p. 372. *Ecc. Angl. Vindex.* Vol. 3. p. 332.

³⁴ *Opera.* Adv. Hæres. P. 400. *Ecc. Angl. Vindex.* Vol. 3, p. 299.

places which might be appealed to in the primitive fathers, I shall add an extract from a rare book, once highly popular in this country, and, in a sense, authorized by the Church of England to be distributed among the people, for their instruction, viz: "The Ordinarye of a Christen man." The author is speaking of Alms-deeds. "The xij. maner of almesdede spyrytuell is to offre or to make offrynge to God the fader, the blesyd Jesu cryst his sone, with y^e ryght holy sacrament of y^e awter; and this almesdede here surmounteth syngulerly in two thynges, all those other good dedes that may be sayd or thought, that is, in dygnyte and in generalyte. —There is the breed and the wyne, fleshe and blode, y^e ryght holy refeccyon of crysten soules."³⁵

Besides, from allusions which we find frequently in the fathers to a pious opinion which they held, how certain is it that they could not have believed the Blessed Elements to be any longer common bread and wine. S. Chrysostom, for example. "Μη ὅτι ἀρτος ἐστιν ἰδης, μηδ' ὅτι οινος ἐστιν νομισης" ου γαρ ὡς ἀι λοιπαι βρωσεις εις αφεδρωνα χωρει. Απαγε, μη τουτο νοει. Αλλα ώσπερ κηρος πυρι προσομιλησας ουδεν απουσιαζει, ουδεν περισσευει ὄντω και ώδε νομιζε (συναναλισκεσθαι) τα μυστηρια τη του σωματος ουσια.³⁶ Or S. Cyril of Jerusalem, in an explanation of the Lord's Prayer. "Τον ἀρτον ἡμων τον επιουσιον δος ἡμιν σημερον. ὁ ἀρτος ὄντος ὁ κοινος, ουκ εστιν επιουσιος. ἀρτος δε ὄντος ὁ ἀγιος, επιουσιος εστιν. —ὄντος ὁ ἀρτος, ουκ εις κοιλιαν χωρει και εις αφεδρωνα εκβαλλεται αλλ' εις πασαν σου την συστασιν αναδιδοται, εις ωφελειαν σωματος και ψυχης."³⁷ Or, once more, S. Ambrose: speaking of the manna in the wilderness, as compared with the Eucharist. "Sed tamen panem illum qui man-

³⁵ Sign. O. 4. b. *Edit.* Wynkyn de Worde. 4to. 1506.

³⁶ Hom. De pœnit. *Opera.* Tom. 2. p. 413. *Ecc. Angl. Vindex.* Vol. 3, p. 320.

³⁷ Catech. Mystag. V. *Opera.* P. 329. *Ecc. Angl. Vindex.* Vol. 3, p. 312. And compare the 6th Section of the 4th Lecture. *Opera.* P. 321.

ducaverunt, omnes in deserto mortui sunt: ista autem esca quam accipis, iste panis vivus qui descendit de cœlo, vitæ æternæ substantiam subministrat; et quicumque hunc manducaverit, non morietur in æternum: et est corpus Christi. Considera nunc utrum præstantior sit panis Angelorum, an caro Christi, quæ utique corpus est vitæ. Manna illud e cœlo, hoc supra cœlum: illud cœli, hoc Domini coelorum: illud corruptioni obnoxium, si in diem alterum servaretur; hoc alienum ab omni corruptione, quod quicumque religiose gustaverit, corruptionem sentire non poterit.”³⁸

But to return: the Eucharistical rites of the Christian Church in the first centuries being in part, that is all the most solemn and important of them, handed down by tradition only, the earliest written liturgy which we have is the Clementine. It forms a part of the 8th book of the Apostolical Constitutions: a work which most certainly was not compiled by those whose name it bears, viz. of the Apostles;³⁹ and therefore labours under all the disadvantages which must attach to writings not genuine. Still the authority of the Constitutions is very great, and will at least reach thus far: that though we might hesitate to insist upon any statement, certainly of

³⁸ De Mysteriis. *Opera*. Tom. 2. p. 337. *Eccl. Angl. Vindex*. Vol. 3, p. 266. My reason for making the above extracts, as the reader will perceive, is because of the argument upon which the opinion of those fathers rests: for more than a pious opinion it is not, and others did not hold it. In the famous Saxon homily of Archbishop Ælfric, upon Easter-day, is a passage doubtless contradicting it. I take the Latin translation. “Eucharistia est temporalis, non æterna; corruptibilis, et in varias partes di-

viditur; inter dentes comprimitur et in ventrem demittitur.” But the Archbishop must not be understood to teach that no effect was the consequence of the consecration of the Elements; which would have been heresy. The reader would do well to consult a place in Lyndwood’s Provincial, in which he remarks upon this point: which is also valuable, as representing the doctrine of his time. *Lib. 1. Tit. 1. Altissimus. Verb. Glutiant.*

³⁹ This is agreed upon by almost all writers upon the subject.

belief perhaps also of practice, to be found there only, yet where such statements are confirmed, by incidental allusions, or by direct accounts of the same things in other writers earlier or contemporary, we may then fully rely upon them. We must remember also, that it was not uncommon, for authors and compilers of that age, the third and fourth centuries, to recommend their works by ascribing them to great saints and teachers who were departed. This may have been a practice at all times to be much regretted, and most undoubtedly it is little according to modern opinions: yet it not only is not in itself a condemnation of every fact or doctrine so recommended, but it sprung from a sense of unworthiness and modesty which has long been lost, and was based upon a well-grounded presumption that there existed in the people a reverence for their Fathers, which has well-nigh been lost also.

In the Apostolical Constitutions then is the liturgy attributed to him whose name is in the Book of Life, S. Clement.⁴⁰ With respect to his name in particular being attached to it, we may well adopt the words of Zaccaria, in his defence of that given to S. James. “*Illud tamen doctissimis criticis lubens concessero, quæ Apostolorum nomine circumferuntur liturgiæ, eas multo recentiores esse, suisque auctoribus suppositas.* At nulla id fraude factam contendō; Jacobum enim, cæterosque Apostolos liturgiam quampiam, seu ordinem precum in sacramentorum administratione, atque Eucharistiæ præsertim immolatione servandum constituisse prudens nemo inficiabitur. Quare cum processu temporis aliqua in illis immutari, demi nonnulla, addi alia contigerit, Apostoli, a quo primum liturgia edita fuerit, nomen retentum est tum in tantum auctorem reverentia, tum eorum, quæ

⁴⁰ *Brett* observes, in his Dissertation, that the language in which it is written is no more an argument

against its genuineness, than against the acknowledged Epistle of St. Clement.

ab illo profecta fuerant, atque etiam tum usurpabantur, rationale.”⁴¹

But, without entering into any unnecessary discussion, it will be sufficient simply to state, that the most probable opinion upon it is this: that although we grant that it was never used exactly in the form in which we now have it in any portion of the Church, (neither indeed does it claim for itself any place or country in particular,) still it is to be looked upon as accurately representing to us the general mode prevalent through the Christian world during the first three centuries, of administering the Supper of the Lord: and it is a most strong argument in its favour, that where the other liturgies, claiming to be primitive, are agreeable to each other, they agree with the Clementine: and that the Clementine contains nothing, either particularly in its arrangement, or generally in its manner of expression, which is not to be found in all the others. The most important omission is, that the Lord’s Prayer forms no part of it: but this may, as has been suggested,⁴² have arisen from the negligence of some transcriber in whose copy the first words only might have been written (and those in contraction): or it might be readily allowed never to have been used in this liturgy, because although proper to the Holy Service, yet most certainly it is not essential to the consecration of the Eucharist. Which is clear from the fact that in other ancient liturgies in which it does occur, it is placed after the consecration is completed: and this is what I have already attempted to show was what S. Gregory meant in the passage

⁴¹ Bibl. Ritualis. *Tom. 1. Dissert. 2. p. lxxxvj.* And compare *Bona, Rerum Liturg. Lib. 1. viij.*

4. “Missa Clementis est antiquissima, ejusque testimonio saepius utar, si non præcise ut ab Apostolis editæ, et a successoribus auctæ,

quod valde probabile est, saltem ut a Patribus secundi vel tertii sæculi usurpatæ.”

⁴² *Brett, Dissertation, p. 204, &c. (edit. 1720.)* His remarks should be consulted.

which was before examined, with whom, so explained, agree a number of the earliest writers.⁴³ Every other liturgy shews evident marks of the rites and ceremonies which have been added from time to time to the original Form: that Form seems to stand clearest in the Clementine.⁴⁴ How decided is the opinion of a learned writer,⁴⁵ “that if we had the very words in which S. Peter and S. Paul consecrated the Eucharist, it would not differ in substance from that which is contained in this most ancient Liturgy:” and of another also:⁴⁶ “the Eucharistical

⁴³ “ Hieronymus ait *lib. 3. adv. Pelag.* ‘Apostolos quotidie Orationem Dominicam solitos dicere in sacrificio.’ Cyrus Hierosolymitanus *Catech. Mystag.* 5. ‘Post hæc inquit, nempe post commemorationem Fidelium Defunctorum, dicimus orationem illam, quam Salvator suis discipulis tradidit.’” *Bona. Tom. 3. p. 320.* These, and other authorities, Optatus, Augustin, Cæsar Arelatensis, S. Ambrose, &c. are cited by most of the ritualists.

Mr. Palmer argues from its omission, the great antiquity of the Clementine Liturgy, speaking of it as a *remarkable* sign. He says: “Without doubt the Lord’s prayer was used between the prayer of the deacon and benediction of the faithful, which precedes the form *τα αγια*, &c. all through the patriarchate of Antioch in the early part of the fourth century. Yet it does not occur in this part of the Clementine Liturgy. Now it is not credible that the author would have omitted this prayer if it had been used long before his time. Yet from the manner and language of Chrysostom and Cyril we perceive

that it must have been used long before *their* time. They both seem to regard this prayer as coeval with the rest of the liturgy: they do not allude to the idea that it had *not* been formerly used in that part of the liturgy. Since then, the Lord’s Prayer was not used, or was but recently used, in the time of the author of the Apostolical Constitutions, and yet appears to have been long used in the time of Cyril and Chrysostom, we must infer that the Apostolical Constitutions were written much before the time of Chrysostom and Cyril.” *Origines Lit. i. p. 40.*

⁴⁴ Upon the arguments for its high antiquity from what the liturgy of S. Clement does, and does not contain, see especially *Le Brun*, whose admissions from his peculiar opinions upon written Liturgies, are very valuable in this respect. *Opera. Tom. 2. pp. 23. 24. 30. 208.*

⁴⁵ *Johnson. Unbl. Sacrifice and Altar unvailed, vol. ii. p. 148.*

⁴⁶ *Hickes. Christian Priesthood, vol. i. p. 141. (Edit. 1711.)* Both these well-known passages are cited very frequently by Brett.

Office in the Apostolical Constitutions is the standard and test by which all others are to be tried. And by comparing them with this, the innovations and additions in after times, be they good or bad, will appear."

Being then so valuable a record,⁴⁷ I cannot think that a reprint of it will be out of place in the present volume. We may refer to it as Bishop Hickes has recommended: we may look upon it with Johnson as, in substance, the Apostolic Form, and so learn to judge more truly than we otherwise might of old and modern liturgies. As such a guide I would regard it, not to the exclusion of the Jerusalem, or Alexandrian, or Roman,⁴⁸ (as if they had not also sprung from the teaching and example of Apostles) but as containing in an earlier form than, as we have them now, they do, those rites which are essential to a valid consecration and perfecting of the Eucharist, and without which no Service, though it may claim the name, can be allowed to be a Christian Liturgy.

After the Council of Nice, and in the age immediately preceding, additions were unquestionably made to the original Form used in the various Churches. Most of these are easily to be traced: and the observation of S. Paul to the Corinthians in his first Epistle, where he says, "there must be also heresies among you, that they which are approved may be made manifest among you," is as applicable to the public services and rituals of the Catholic Church, as to the opinions of her individual

⁴⁷ It is surely scarcely necessary for me to remind the reader, that we have also an equally valuable commentary upon it, in the 5th Catechetical Lecture of S. Cyril.

⁴⁸ "That there were ancient liturgies in the Church is evident: S. Chrysostom, S. Basil, and others: and though we find not in all ages

whole liturgies, yet it is certain that there were such in the oldest times, by those parts which are extant: as "Sursum corda," "Vere dignum et justum," &c. Though those which are extant may be interpolated, yet such things as are found in them all consistent to catholic and primitive doctrine, may well be presumed to have been from the

members.⁴⁹ During the short space when there was indeed but one mind and one Faith, there was little need of cautious phrases, and additional safeguards by which the truth might be preserved: very different however was the case after the time of Arius, and Macedonius, and Nestorius; and epithets even became necessary, which in purer days would, perhaps, but have seemed to mar the earnest simplicity of the Church's prayers.

first, especially since we find no original of these liturgies from ancient councils." *Answer of the Bishops to the exceptions of the Ministers.* Cardwell. Hist. of Conferences. p. 350.

⁴⁹ As Vincentius of Lirins says upon this text of S. Paul: "Ac si diceret: ob hoc hæresēōn non statim divinitus eradicantur auctores,

ut probati manifesti fiant, id est, ut unusquisque quam tenax et fidelis, et fixus Catholicæ fidei sit amator, appareat. Et revera cum quæque novitas ebullit, statim cernitur frumentorum gravitas, et levitas palearum: tune sine magno molimine exeatitur ab area, quod nullo pondere intra aream tenebatur." *Adversus Hæreses.* § 20.

CHAPTER III.



E must now pass on to consider the particular Liturgy, from which the ancient Uses of the Church of England are usually supposed to have been more immediately derived. The Roman was among the earliest, and soon became the chief, of the Patriarchates of the Catholic Church. The contentions of neighbouring provinces, the irruptions of barbarians, the local influence of her bishops, and above all, under God, her anxious and untiring energy in the cause of the propagation of the true Faith, rapidly strengthened the primacy of the Church of Rome: and within eight hundred years of the death of our Blessed Lord, she had obtained throughout the West almost imperial power, and in the East considerable influence. We might naturally, therefore, expect that in the remains of antiquity which have been spared to us, we should find a complete liturgy which she had used from her first foundation, with perhaps also a history of it, detailing exactly the various alterations which it has undergone.

But we know little about it. Writers who lived long ago, and to whom some accounts we may have supposed would have come down, speak in very general terms. Durand contents himself with saying, “In primordio nascentis Ecclesiae missa aliter dicebatur, quam modo. —Sequenti vero tempore epistola tantum, et evangelio recitatis, missa celebrabatur: subsequenter Cœlestinus Papa instituit introitum ad missam cantari.—Cætera diversis temporibus ab aliis Papis leguntur adjecta, prout Christianæ religionis cultu crescente, visa sunt decentius convenire.”⁵⁰ And as we go back some four hundred

⁵⁰ *Rationale div. off. Lib. 4. Cap. I. 5.*

years, Walafrid Strabo tells us what is still less satisfactory, “ Quod nunc agimus multiplici orationum, lectionum, cantilenarum, et consecrationum officio, totum hoc Apostoli, et post ipsos proximi, (ut creditur) orationibus et commemoratione passionis Dominicæ, sicut ipse præcepit, agebant simpliciter.”⁵¹

Hence is it, that some who dislike the authority of liturgies have denied to the Roman all claim to any great age: and have ascribed its first beginning as a Form, to Gregory the Great, or to Gelasius, or Vigilius, or Leo, in succession Bishops of Rome. Others, on the contrary, have boldly given it to S. Peter, as the sole author, at least of the Canon, and that it has come down to us in the main points unimpaired.

Those authors from whom I have just made extracts, state their full conviction of the truth of this: for example, Walafrid Strabo, in the same chapter: “ Romani quidem usum observationum a beato Petro accipientes, suis quique temporibus, quæ congrua judicata sunt, addiderunt.” And, more expressly, an Archbishop of our own Church, Ælfric in his pastoral epistle: “ Now was the mass established by our Lord Christ; and the holy apostle Peter appointed the Canon thereto, which we call *Te igitur*.”⁵² The later ritualists, men of the greatest learning and of unwearied labour in these inquiries, take the same ground. Gavantus declares that S. Clement received the Roman liturgy from S. Peter.⁵³ Le Brun also: “ Romanæ ecclesiæ liturgia dubio procul ex S. Petro per traditionem derivatur.”⁵⁴ Georgius again:

⁵¹ *De rebus Eccles.* Cap. 22. *Edit.* Cœchlæns. 1549. This also, after premising, “ quantum invenire potuimus, exponamus.” And he then gives much such an account of additions, as *Durand* and other writers.

⁵² Cap. 39. *Thorpe.* Anglo-

Saxon Laws, &c. Vol. 2. p. 381.

⁵³ *Thesaurus Sacr. Rituum. Tom. 1. p. 2.* Merati in his notes tells us of the Altar preserved at Rome, upon which S. Peter is said to have offered the Eucharist. *Tom. 1. p. 130.*

⁵⁴ *Opera. Tom. 2. p. 78.*

“ Saerarum cærimoniarum origo, ab Apostolicis temporibus ducta, viam nobis stravit ad Romanæ liturgiæ vetustatem, cuius primordia, et ordinem beato Petro ecclesia Romana debet.”⁵⁵ But the chief authorities upon which these opinions rest are of S. Isidore, who lived in the seventh century ; and of Innocent I. in the fifth. The first tells us : “ Ordo missæ vel orationum, quibus oblata Deo sacrificia consecrantur, primum a sancto Petro est institutus,” and he adds, what certainly was incorrect, “ cuius celebrationem uno eodemque modo universus peragit orbis.”⁵⁶ Innocent lays down the same, in a passage too long to extract, in an epistle to the Bishop Decentius : and from which Georgius draws this conclusion : “ Heus quanta ex hoc plane aureo S. Innocentii Pontificis testimonio hauriuntur ! Vides enim Romanam ecclesiam, a sancto Petro, ut diximus, ordinem missæ edoctam.”⁵⁷ But much more sound is the interpretation which Cardinal Bona,⁵⁸ with whom agrees Pinius,⁵⁹ puts upon the last sentence of S. Isidore ; and which I would extend to the other early authorities to the same purpose : “ Hoc de re et substantia, non de verborum tenore et cæremoniis intelligendum est.”

For as the truth is unquestionably not with the advocates of the first of the two opinions which I have mentioned, so with some limitations, although it may not be freed from all objection, we may agree with the other. To name as the author of the Roman liturgy any particular Apostle, is beyond possibility : but the essential rites which are in all ancient liturgies, are to be found also in the Canon of the Church of Rome, in every age, up to the most early, through which we are able to trace

⁵⁵ De Lit. Rom. Pontif. *Tom.* 1. p. 188.
1. p. 9. See also *Martene. De Ant. Ecc. Rit.* *Tom.* 1. p. 98.

⁵⁷ *Tom.* 1. p. 10.

⁵⁸ *Rerum Liturg.* *Lib.* 1. *Cap.* 7. v.
⁵⁹ *De Lit. Ant. Hispanica.* P. 2.
Cap. 15. *Bibl. Patrum Auct.*

it. We may assert therefore that it springs equally with them from the Apostolic Form: and that it has preserved all those essentials with a most jealous care, whilst successive Bishops have exerted their legitimate power, and added such prayers and ceremonies as they thought fit. As Muratori says, “*Canoni certe, in quo tremendi mysterii summa consistit, nihil unquam additum fuit, quod vel minimum substantiam rei mutet.*”⁶⁰

In attempting to give a most brief account of the Roman liturgy, I said in the preface to the first edition of this work, that we could not do better, as regards it, than adopt the words of a very careful inquirer, (to whose labours both upon this and other subjects,⁶¹ the English Church owes a heavy debt of gratitude,) the author of the *Origines Liturgicæ*. I should have to appeal to the same sources as himself, and I have found no reason, after further examination, to suppose that any other plan would be more advantageous now. He tells us then, “that many of the mistakes into which men have fallen on this matter have arisen from confounding two very different things, the missal and the liturgy. The missal is a large volume containing a number of missæ, or offices for particular days, which were to be added in the Canon.”⁶² By the liturgy we are to understand the “Ordinary and “Canon which did not vary,

⁶⁰ *De rebus Liturg.* P. 119.

⁶¹ More particularly, in his excellent *Treatise of the Church*, a work to which we must attribute very much of the better tone of theology which of late years has distinguished writers in the English Church.

⁶² I have no hesitation in adopting Mr. Palmer’s account, but we must take the term Liturgy in its *most strict sense*, and an unusual

one, to exclude the other portions of the missal from it; in the present instance it is allowable, if we include, as I doubt not was intended, the Ordinary with the Canon. It is much to be wished that Mr. Palmer had remembered his own definition; and not upon the other hand extended somewhat improperly the idea of a Liturgy, in giving such a title as *Origines Liturgicæ* to his whole work.

and the number and order of the prayers which were to be added from the missal.—It is acknowledged that Gregory collected, arranged, improved, and abbreviated⁶³ the contents of the individual Missæ, and inserted a short passage into the Canon, viz. *Diesque nostros in tua pace disponas, atque ab æterna damnatione eripi, et in electorum tuorum jubeas grege numerari.* He joined also the Lord's Prayer to the Canon, from which it had previously been separated by the breaking of bread. All this amounts to positive proof that Gregory was the reviser and improver, not the author, of the Roman Liturgy.”⁶⁴ “ Seventy years before Gregory, Vigilius, Patriarch of Rome, in an epistle to Profuturus, Bishop of Braga in Spain, says that he had received the text of the Canon from Apostolical tradition : he then gives him a description of it, which coincides accurately with the Roman liturgy in subsequent times.” “ Before him, Gelasius, Patriarch, A. D. 492, ordained prayers or collects, and prefaces, and arranged them in a sacramentary, which in after ages commonly bore his name.”

⁶³ I would add from Muratori : “ Certe vetustis sæculis Præfationes complures in usu fuere. Hasce sanctus Gregorius M. ad paucas nunc usitatas rededit. Psalmi etiam integri adhibiti antiquitus, sive cantati in missa fuerunt ; idque ex non uno Sancti Augustini loco, et ex Homiliis sancti Petri Chrysologi constat ; verum nostris temporibus versieulus tantummodo ex iis canitur, aut recitatur. Cur autem a sancto Gregorio Pontifice breviata fuerit Liturgia, id factum suspicari licet ad majus Fidelium commodum, atque ut omnes divinis Mysteriis interesse possent. Olim quoque multis occupabat cura filiorum, custo-

dia agrorum et bestiarum, servitium dominis præstitum, ut alia impedimenta omittam. Hosce, ut opinari fas est, absterrebat a sacris prolixitas Liturgiæ. Idecirco satius visum fuit, eamdem contrahere, et præsertim postquam præceptum invaliuit de Missa audienda singulis Dominicis, aliisque Festis solemibus.” De rebus Liturg. p. 14.

⁶⁴ So Renaudot observes : “ In Latina ecclesia, præcipuum locum obtinet Canon Romanus, qui, quod a Gelasio Papa primum, deinde a Gregorio magno, in eam quam nunc habet formam reductus est Gregorianus vulgo appellatur.” *Dissertatio.* Vol. 1. p. 8.

Again, “a manuscript sacramentary is in existence, supposed to have been written before the time of Gelasius, evidently referring to the same order and Canon as that used in his time: and is known by the name of the Leonian Sacramentary. Leo the Great, Bishop in 451, is said to have added certain words, which also are specified; *sanctum sacrificium, immaculatam hostiam*: so that the remainder of the Canon was in existence before his time.” “Some time again before Leo, Innocentius the Bishop speaks of the Roman rites as having descended from S. Peter the Apostle,⁶⁵ and there is no sort of reason to think that they differed materially from those used by Gelasius at the end of the same century.” And we are brought to this conclusion: “That this liturgy was substantially the same in the time of Gelasius as it was in that of Gregory, that it appears to have been the same in the time of Innocentius at the beginning of the fifth century, and was then esteemed to be of Apostolical antiquity.”⁶⁶

⁶⁵ Muratori, p. 10, says, “Accipe nunc, quæ de ipsa Romana Ecclesia Anno Christi 416, hoc est tot ante Gregorium Magnum annos, scripserit Innocentius I. summus Pontifex: ‘Si instituta Ecclesiastica ut sunt a beatis Apostolis tradita, integra vellent servare Domini Sacerdotes, nulla diversitas, nulla varietas in ipsis Ordinibus, et Consecrationibus haberetur.’ Addit infra: ‘Quis enim nesciat aut non adverat id, quod a principe Apostolorum Petro Romanæ Ecclesiae traditum est, ac nunc usque custoditur, ab omnibus debere servari.’” *Mr. Palmer* gives the same passage from *Labbe*. *Concil. 2. 1245.*

⁶⁶ *Origines Liturgicae*. Vol. I. p. 111—119. To add the opinion of

a very learned writer: “Neque enim a Græcis sacros ritus Romani acceperunt, sed ab Apostolorum principibus.” *Muratori. p. 13.*

And the very succinct account which another ritualist gives us: “*Romanæ Liturgiæ triplex veluti ordo seu status considerandus est. Unus primigenius, ab Ecclesiæ nascientis exordio ad Gelasium usque receptus: alter Gelasianus, auctorem seu amplificationem habens Gelasium Papam ejus nominis primum: tertius Gregorianus, ita dictus ex nomine Gregorii M. qui Gelasianum ordinem correxisse memoratur. Qualis fuerit primigenius ille, non omnino constat. Gelasianus diu desideratus est: sed tandem illum e tenebris eruit vir de ecclesia*

The reader, if he wishes to enquire further into this most interesting subject, will find a good account of the various additions and alterations made from time to time in the liturgy of the Church of Rome, in a not uncommon book, the *Thesaurus Sacrorum Rituum* of Gavantus; *tom. i.* p. 322.⁶⁷ But he will do well to correct this by the older ritualists, Walafrid Strabo and others; and especially by two most ancient histories of the changes made in that Service, which have been printed by Georgius in the appendix to his third volume, *De Liturgia Romani Pontificis*.⁶⁸ These were found in the celebrated manuscript of the Queen of Sweden, now preserved in the library of the Vatican. But before we pass on, I cannot but add, as to a single point, the authority of one of our own most celebrated men, the Venerable Bede, who was almost a contemporary of him of whom he is speaking, Pope Gregory the Great: "Sed et in ipsa missarum celebratione tria verba maximæ perfectionis plena superadjecit, 'Diesque nostros in tua pace disponas, atque ab æterna damnatione nos eripi, et in electorum tuorum jubeas grege numerari.'"⁶⁹

When, however, we speak of additions, these were as regarded the Ordinary and Canon, small both in number and extent: and there can be but little doubt, that

bene meritus Josephus Thomasius. Gregorianus demum in usu communis est modo apud omnes fere ecclesias, notis et observationibus a Menardo nostro illustratus. Gregoriani a Gelasiano totum discrimen est in varietate et numero earum orationum, quas *Collectas* vocant: nam cætera utriusque eadem omnino partes sunt. In Gelasiano duæ aut tres ante epistolam orationes; unica secreta ante præfationem; atque duæ post communionem, quarum una est *supra po-*

pulum. At in Gregoriano tres tantum ad singulas Missas assignantur orationes, quarum una ante epistolam, altera secreta, tertia post communionem." *Mabillon de Lit. Gallicana. Lib. I. Cap. 2. iv.* Compare also, *Gavantus. Thesaurus. Tom. I. p. 5.*

⁶⁷ I mean the Edition to which I refer in these notes, with the excellent commentary of Merati: 3 vols. folio. 1763.

⁶⁸ Append. x. xi.

⁶⁹ *Hist. Eccles. lib. 2. cap. i. 87.*

the liturgy, in its strictest sense, of the Church of Rome was in the earliest centuries considerably longer than it now is ; which is indeed certain, if S. Gregory, as it has been remarked, not only arranged but abbreviated it. Therefore, it would at that time be more like the other ancient liturgies, and the account given us by Justin Martyr. Muratori⁷⁰ observes, that as in the Greek Churches before the Preface prayers were said for the whole church, for kings, for catechumens, &c. and others again, after the consecration, for the clergy ; so an old Latin writer upon the sacraments, speaking of the Eucharist, says : “in it praises are offered to God, and prayers for the people, for kings, and others.” But in the Roman Canon, as it has been for a thousand years, the Pope, the Bishop of the particular Church, the king, &c. are recommended to God, not merely in very few words, but in the *secret* prayers. And as I have observed below, P. 72, Note 89, there were formerly many more Prefaces than there are now.

It is a most interesting question (one which we can scarcely hope to be answered because of the almost certain destruction of all copies of it which may be identified,) what was the primitive liturgy of the Churches of England before the arrival of S. Augustine. The difficulty seems to be acknowledged, by very eminent authorities. Azevedo says, “Anglicani autem officii nullum est monumentum, quo cognosci possit ante S. Gregorii ævum, qui evangelii præcones ad Christianam religionem restituendam illuc misit.”⁷¹ And Mabillon, to cite no more : “Qualis fuerit apud Britones et Hibernos sacrificandi ritus, non plane compertum est. Modum tamen illum a Romano diversum extitisse intelligitur ex Bernardo in libro de vita Malachiæ, ubi Malachias barbaras

⁷⁰ De rebus Liturg. p. 14.

⁷¹ De divino Officio. *Exercit.* ix. p. 47.

consuetudines Romanis mutasse, et canonicum divinæ laudis officium in illas ecclesias invexitse memoratur.”⁷² Certainly Azevedo is speaking of the offices of the canonical Hours, rather than of the liturgy; and so Mabillon also seems at least to do, although he begins with speaking of the “ritus sacrificandi:” but there is so great a connexion between the two in such enquiries as the present, that any information as regards the one, throws some light upon the other.

We are left therefore to conjecture: and I think we may agree with Mr. Palmer,⁷³ who inclines to the Use of Gaul, that having been the nearest Christian province, and her Bishops the probable ordainers of the British. I would not appeal to the judgment of Bishop Stillingfleet as of much weight in this particular matter, so hastily does he seem in his *Origines Britannicæ* to have settled questions of rituals and liturgies, and so much was he inclined to misrepresent his facts: still, it may not be amiss to add, that with his characteristic boldness, he decides the difficulty in the same way. Speaking of some ancient MSS. still extant, of the Gallican service, he tells us: “From these excellent monuments of antiquity compared together, we may, in great measure understand the true order and method of the communion service of that time, both in the Galliean and British Churches.” Presently the same writer assures us, that we may obtain from those records of the Gallican liturgy “a just and true account of the public service then used in Britain.”⁷⁴

The ancient Gallic Churches used the same order of prayers in the celebration of the Eucharist, although, as appears from three editions published by Thomasius, and

⁷² De Lit. Gall. lib. i. cap. 2. xiv. 180. To which I would refer the Compare also *Gerbert. Vetus Lit.* reader.

Aleman. tom. i. p. 75.

⁷⁴ *Origines Britannicæ. p. 240.*

⁷³ *Origines Liturgicæ. vol. i. p.*

from a fourth by Mabillon, the prayers themselves somewhat differed : a brief description of their arrangement is given by Martene in his excellent work, “ *De antiquis Ecclesiae ritibus.* ”⁷⁵ He says :

The Gallic liturgy began with an antiphon, which was sung by the choir. This was followed by a Preface or sermon to the people, in which the priest exhorted them to come with due reverence to the holy mysteries. Silence being then proclaimed, the priest saluted the people, and after their response, said a collect, which the people heard upon their knees. After the collect the choir sung the Trisagium, which was followed by the canticle, “ *Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel.* ” (These, however, were omitted during Lent.) Then came lessons from the Prophets and the Apostolic writings, after which the Hymn of the Three Children was sung. This was followed by the reading of the Gospel ; before and after which the Trisagium was again sung, and the people gave the response, (still continued by tradition in the English Church,) “ *Glory be to Thee, O Lord.* ” Afterwards the Bishop either himself preached, or, if he was infirm or ill, ordered a homily to be read by a priest or deacon. Then the appointed prayers were said by a deacon for the Hearers and Catechumens. These latter having been dismissed, and silence enjoined, the bread and wine were brought in, and an oblation of them made, whilst the choir sung an anthem called *Sonum*, or more properly, *Sonus* : which according to Martene, who is followed by Gerbert⁷⁶ and Le Brun,⁷⁷ upon the authority of S. Germanus, answered to the Offertory of later times. Then the sacred Diptychs were read, the collect *post nomina* was said, the kiss of peace given, and the collect *ad pacem* said by the priest, after which the

⁷⁵ *Tom.* i. *p.* 98. See also *Le Brun.* *Opera.* *tom.* ii. *p.* 134.

⁷⁶ *De Cantu.* *tom.* i. *p.* 116.
⁷⁷ *Opera.* *tom.* ii. *p.* 138.

Canon followed, which was very short. After the Consecration came the prayer *post secreta*; “postea fiebat confractio et commixtio corporis Christi.” In the mean time the choir sung an anthem. This was followed by a collect, the Lord’s prayer, and another collect. (It appears that the Lord’s prayer was said by both the priest and people.) Before communion the blessing was given, if by the priest in this form: “*Pax, fides, et caritas, et communicatio corporis et sanguinis Domini sit semper vobiscum.*” During communion the *Trecanum* (it is doubtful what this was⁷⁸) was sung by the choir. Then one, or perhaps two collects were said, and the people were dismissed.⁷⁹

⁷⁸ See *Martene*: Anecd. tom. v. p. 90. And *Gerbert*. De Cantu. tom. i. p. 126. The latter has some important remarks upon the agreement in this part, as well as in others, of the Mozarabic and Gallican liturgies: a subject which would well repay an accurate examination, although we should not probably after a patient comparison, come to the same conclusion with *Dr. Giles*, who in a Life of Bede, prefixed to his Biographical Writing, quietly sets them down as the same: “the Gallican or Mozarabic Liturgy.” (P. xxij.) I regret to be obliged to pass the enquiry over, with only this brief remark: sufficient however, it may be, to excite the further interest of the reader. The *Trecanum* as a title, is not found in the Service of any other Church.

⁷⁹ Compare the account also of this Liturgy given by *Mr. Palmer*. Orig. Lit. vol. i. p. 158. And the satisfactory argument by which he would prove that it was originally

from the East, and not from Rome. See also *Le Brun*. Opera. tom. ii. p. 126.

A very curious point, of no little importance and well worth enquiry, is the similarity between the most ancient English and Irish MSS. now extant, and those of the East. Upon this I shall extract the observations of the author of a valuable modern publication, *Westwood*, *Palaeographia sacra*. He says, “the collation of many of these MSS. has also furnished additional (although unlooked for) evidence that the ancient church in these islands was independent of Rome, and that it corresponded, on the contrary, with the Eastern churches.” *Pref.* 1. Again; he alludes to an extraordinary similarity between the ornaments in the ancient Syriac MS. of Rabula, and those in the most ancient Anglo-Saxon MSS. particularly as regards a very peculiar and common pattern formed of several slender spiral lines united in the centre of a circle: and conti-

Such therefore was the Use which the English Church most probably observed in celebrating the Holy Eucharist until the end of the sixth century. S. Augustine, there can be little doubt, brought with him the liturgy then authorized at Rome; he first landed about the year 597, during the lifetime of Pope Gregory himself. After his return, as Archbishop, he requested the Pope to decide upon some questions, and among them especially, what service was to be used in the Church, as the Gallican and Roman liturgies were not the same.⁸⁰ The answer was, that he might himself choose either; or select the liturgy which he thought most suitable from the various forms in the Catholic Church, provided only that he had regard to the circumstances and prejudices of the country, and the glory of God.

The question of the Archbishop appears to me to be a very strong proof of the identity of the old British and the Gallican liturgies: if on his first coming he had not

nues, "these apparently trifling circumstances seem to me to prove more forcibly than the most laborious arguments, the connexion between the early Christians in these islands, and those of the East, so strongly insisted upon by various writers." *Note*, upon the Psalter of K. Athelstan. These remarks have not the less weight because they occur only incidentally, in a work directed towards a totally different object.

⁸⁰ This is of great importance, and I give the original from Bede. "Secunda interrogatio Augustini. Cum una sit fides, sunt ecclesiarum diversæ consuetudines, et altera consuetudo missarum in sancta Romana ecclesia, atque altera in Galliarum tenetur?

Respondit Gregorius papa. Novit fraternitas tua Romanæ ecclesiæ consuetudinem, in qua se meminit nutritam. Sed mihi placet, sive in Romana, sive in Galliarum, seu in qualibet ecclesia, aliquid invenisti quod plus omnipotenti Deo possit placere, sollicite eligas, et in Anglorum ecclesia, quæ adhuc ad fidem nova est, institutione præcipua, quæ de multis ecclesiis colligere potnisti, infundas. Non enim pro locis res, sed pro bonis rebus loca amanda sunt. Ex singulis ergo quibusque ecclesiis quæ pia, quæ religiosa, quæ recta sunt, elige; et hæc, quasi in fasciculum collecta, apud Anglorum mentes in consuetudinem depone." *Hist. Eccles. lib. i. cap. xxvii. 60.*

found any remnant of the earlier Church, or if the liturgy which it still observed was not the same, or nearly the same, as the Gallican, I do not see why any doubt or hesitation should have risen in his mind, as to the immediate introduction of the Roman Use. Had there been no prejudices to remove in the case of the British Churches which still existed in many, even though perhaps remote, parts of the island ; prejudices which the holy missionary knew and felt were to be considered, and if possible to be indulged ; if, I say, there had been none such, there does not seem any reason whatever to suppose,⁸¹ but that he would have required everywhere the adoption of the Roman liturgy, to which he had been always accustomed. We learn also from the answer of S. Gregory, that although it differed from the Roman, yet that in his judgment the Gallican or (if we may so conclude it) the British liturgy contained nothing that was objectionable.

Naturally however the influence of S. Augustine and his successors led to the general adoption, in its main features, of the Roman liturgy : and it has been said, that the few manuscripts which have come down to us of the Anglo-Saxon age, are but transcripts of the sacramentary of S. Gregory.⁸² But this, (as I am convinced a more accurate examination would shew, if my present subject more particularly required it,) is a somewhat loose and incorrect manner of speaking of them. In a general way only, it can be true : in the same way in which, about the middle of the 8th century, Egbert Archbishop of York, must be understood in one of the answers of his Dialogue.⁸³ I say must, as even a great upholder of the

⁸¹ I do not overlook, but rather would remind the reader of the fact, that he might himself consider it, of the Bishop and congregation who accompanied Queen Bertha

into England : and to which I attribute no weight in this respect.

⁸² *Origines Liturgicæ. vol. i. p. 186.*

⁸³ “*Nos autem in ecclesia An-*

early and complete introduction of the Roman Use into England cannot but allow, who owns, that “ even at the close of the eighth century, the Scottish liturgy was in daily, though not exclusive, use in the church of York.”⁸⁴ That is, in Egbert’s own cathedral: what Dr. Lingard means by “ though not exclusive,” I do not comprehend.

About the same time, A.D. 747, a council at Cloveshoo added the sanction of its authority to the observance, as far as the various dioceses would receive them, of the Roman ritual and missal. We must be careful not to press beyond such a limitation these canons, as otherwise we should be plainly contradicted by other records which are extant: and it is not clear that we must even go to that extent; for the object seems rather to be directed to an uniformity of time, and the Roman or Gregorian chant. I extract the first of these, which relates to the Liturgy. “ xiii. *Ut uno eodemque tempore ubique festivitates dominicæ, seu martyrum nativitates peragantur.* Tertio decimo definitur decreto: *ut uno eodemque modo dominicæ dispensationis in carne sacrosanctæ festivitates, in omnibus ad eas rite competentibus rebus, id est, in baptismi officio, in missarum celebratione, in cantilenæ modo, celebrentur, juxta exemplar videlicet quod scriptum de Romana habemus ecclesia.* Itemque *ut per gyrum totius anni natalitia sanctorum uno eodemque die, juxta martyrologium ejusdem Romanæ ecclesiæ,*

glorum idem primi mensis jejunium, ut noster didascalus beatus Gregorius in suo Antiphonario et Missali libro per paedagogum nostrum beatum Augustinum transmisit ordinatum et rescriptum — servamus.” “ *Hoc autem jejunium idem beatus Gregorius per præfatum legatum in Antiphonario suo et Missali, in plena hebdomada post Pentecosten*

Anglorum ecclesiæ celebrandum destinavit. Quod non solum nostra testantur Antiphonaria, sed et ipsa quæ cum Missalibus suis conspeximus apud apostolorum Petri et Pauli limina.” Wilkins. Concilia. tom. i. p. 85.

⁸⁴ Lingard. Anglo-Saxon Church. vol. i. p. 299.

cum sua sibi convenienti psalmodia seu cantilena venerantur.”⁸⁵

Le Brun mentions a remarkable manuscript, which he says proves that for a considerable period, the Anglo-Saxon church, or at least some part of it, adopted not the Gregorian, but the Gelasian sacramentary.⁸⁶ Whether this may have been so, or not, there can be little doubt, but that the Canon of the church of Rome, subject to certain variations, was admitted and generally observed by the Anglo-Saxon churches, long before other portions of the missal, or other rites and ceremonies. This Mabillon allows was the case with respect to the Gallie liturgy in France.⁸⁷

Without delaying longer upon this enquiry, I think we may conclude, that as Christianity spread among the Anglo-Saxons, the Canon of the church of Rome, as distinguished from the old Gallican, was gradually received by them, and also in the British churches which still existed in remote parts of the country. But, especially by the latter, it would be the general arrangement only, and not the exact words. And not merely would ancient prejudices, and ritual peculiarities have influence against the newer Form, but the Bishops of the several dioceses into which England was divided, it may well be thought, exercised the power of which I have already spoken, to enjoin, within the limits of their respective jurisdictions, rites and ceremonies and prayers. It would be absurd to say that this power was invariably exercised with due discretion: much indeed is it to be wished it had been; and we should not have had to complain of

⁸⁵ *Wilkins. Concilia. tom. i. p. 96.* The other Canon, xvth, concerns the daily office of the canonical Hours: and, although it does not affect the question of the exact reception of the Roman Course and

Liturgy, has been somewhat unfairly by Dr. Lingard mixed up with the xiiith. *Vol. i. p. 299.*

⁸⁶ *Opera. tom ii. p. 91.*

⁸⁷ *De Lit. Gallicana. p. 46.*

trifling and blameable practices which occasionally were suffered to interfere with the solemnities of the public service and offices. Yet, after all, these were to no great extent; and there is ample proof how careful the rulers of the Church were, to prevent these scandals: and in fact, when we remember how rude the manners of the Anglo-Saxons were, how little learned many of the most pious and earnest of the Bishops, how numberless the superstitions which prevailed, we must own the constant presence and direction of the Almighty Head, Who alone could preserve a due and fitting Order, against the pressure of so many difficulties.

One error the Anglo-Saxon Church was most anxious to prevent; although it has been with superficial writers not uncommon to assert the contrary: viz. the introduction of any pagan rites. It will be sufficient to quote two examples. The 19th canon of the council of Chal-
euith, A.D. 785, at a time when it would have seemed to human policy most desirable by any way to conciliate the heathens, enjoins in the plainest terms: “*Ut unusquisque fidelis christianus a catholicis viris exemplum accipiat; et si quid ex ritu paganorum remansit, avellatur, contemnatur, abjiciatur. Deus enim formavit hominem pulchrum in decore et specie: pagani vero diabolico instinctu cicatrices tetterimas superinduxerunt.*”⁸⁸ And again, in the 11th century, the 5th of the Ecclesiastical Laws of King Canute. “*Prohibemus etiam serio omnem ethnicismum.*”⁸⁹

⁸⁸ *Wilkins. Concilia. tom. i. p. 150.*

⁸⁹ *Ibid. tom. i. p. 306. A.D. 1033.*

CHAPTER IV.

HE Eucharistical offices therefore of the Anglo-Saxon Church may have been, for many years, distinguished from each other by very important variations: and it is probable that throughout England, up to the century preceding the conquest, they differed in some degree or other, so far as the number of dioceses would permit. Doubtless they all preserved the essentials of the Service, according to the very brief account which *Ælfric* gives us in his Easter-homily. “*Ða apostoli dydon swa swa Crist hét. þat hi halgodon hláf and wín to húslē eft sýððan on his gemýnde. Eác swýlce heora aeftergangan and ealle sacerdas be Cristes hæse halgiað hláf and wín to húslē on his naman mid þære apostolican bletsunge;*”⁹⁰ And these differences of each diocese from another continued,⁹¹ until the civil subordination of the whole land under one head, and consequent increased facilities of intercourse introduced a greater sameness of practice, well fitted to their Unity of Faith.

⁹⁰ “*Apostoli prout Christus ius- sit fecerunt; exhinc enim panem et vínū consecraverunt iterum in Eucharistiam, in Ejus memoriam. Pariter (faciunt) horum successores, et omnes sacerdotes, jubente Christo, in nomine Ejus panem et vinum in Eucharistiam consecrant per benedictionem Apostolicam.*” *Eccles. Anglic. Vindex Cathol. vol. iii. p. 348.*

⁹¹ There were also varieties observed by the different Monastic orders: several of which have been

printed in later years. Those according to the Uses of the Benedictines, the Cistercians, the Carthusians, the Dominicans, and Franciscans, were published before the year 1500. These were upon the one hand forbidden to the secular clergy: see *Benedict. XIV. Opera. tom. ix. p. 408*: and on the other were binding upon the members of the respective Orders: *Azevedo. De Div. Off. Exercit. x. p. 55.* But compare the order presently, about Barking monastery.

About the year 1085, Osmund, then Bishop of Salisbury drew up and promulgated a Form which should be used in his diocese :⁹² and whether from the known ability and earnestness of Osmund himself, whether from the fame of his new cathedral, and the college of learned clergy which he had collected, or from whatever cause, this *Use of Sarum* was very generally adopted in the south of England, as well as in other parts of the country, and even, it has been said, upon the continent.⁹³ It did not however altogether exclude the other Uses, of York, Bangor, Hereford, and Lincoln, which still obtained in their respective districts: these were small perhaps in comparison with the wide reception of the Use of Sarum, and neither their exact limits nor their authors can be

⁹² “At the Conquest, monasteries had a deep share in the afflictions of the conquered nation; some of the best of their manors were sacrilegiously taken away, their treasuries plundered, and their liberties infringed. Most of the English Abbots being deposed for little or no causes, strangers were preferred to the richest abbeys in the kingdom, who introduced several new customs to the grievance of the old Saxon monks.

The first thing which seemed very hard was the altering their missals: upon this account what great heats were there in the Abbey of Glastonbury! when Thurstan, the pragmatical Norman Abbot, would have forced the monks to lay aside the old Gregorian service, which had been used there time out of mind, to make use of the new devotions” i. e. manner of singing, “of William of Fiscamp. These and several other innovations, which were bringing in upon them,

were stopped by the pains of Osmund, Bishop of Salisbury, who composed a new ritual, afterwards known by the name of the *Missale in usum Sarum*, and generally used in England, Scotland, and Ireland.” *Tanner. Notitia Monastica, Pref. 4, Edit. 1787.* I do not think it necessary to stop to correct the above statement, which the reader may easily do for himself.

⁹³ Into Ireland it has been said the Use of Sarum was introduced, upon the authority of a canon of the Synod of Cashel, A. D. 1172. “Quod omnia divina ad instar sacrosanctæ ecclesiæ, juxta quod Anglicana observat ecclesia, in omnibus partibus ecclesiæ amodo trae-tentur.” *Wilkins. Concilia. tom. i. p. 473.* Compare also, *Collier. Eccles. Hist. vol. i. p. 379.* As regards the Church of Glasgow in Scotland, see *Wilkins. tom. i. p. 741*: and the *Monumenta Ritualia. vol. i. p. xlvj. Note 78.*

ascertained : it seems certain, that the Uses of Lincoln and Bangor were not so general as those of York and Hereford.

But we must not suppose that this extended influence was obtained all at once, or even in less than a long lapse of time, by the liturgy and ritual of the Church of Salisbury : nor, again, must we forget that those who testify to its greatest renown lived some three or four hundred years after its original settlement under the direction of Bishop Osmund.⁹⁴ During that period many severe struggles, of which all memory has been lost, may have occurred ; and many difficulties and jealousies which opposed its progress may have been gradually but slowly overcome. In less however than two hundred years after Osmund's death, we have a proof how high the character of the Sarum Use already was, in the constitutions of one of his successors ; who in the year 1256 declares, that "like the sun in the heavens, the Church of Salisbury is conspicuous above all other churches of the world, diffusing its light every where, and supplying their defects."⁹⁵

There are two important cases upon which a few remarks will not, I trust, be out of place. And first of the cathedral of S. Paul in London, the chief city of the kingdom. Collier tells us, that in the year 1414, and therefore we may conclude not till then, an order was made by Bishop Clifford "with the assent of the chapter, that from the first of December following, Divine Ser-

⁹⁴ One reason why in later years, writers have perhaps too much exalted the Salisbury, to the disparagement of the other English Uses, has probably been because the Service Books of that Church are, with few exceptions, the only ones which are extant. None exist of Lincoln ; only two MSS. viz. the

Missal in my possession, and the Pontifical belonging to the Dean and Chapter of that Cathedral, claim to be of Bangor ; and but ten or twelve copies altogether are known of the books of Hereford and York.

⁹⁵ *Wilkins. Concilia. tom. i. p. 715.*

vice should be performed in his Cathedral, *secundum usum Sarum* : and that the old form and rubric called S. Paul's should be laid aside.”⁹⁶ With this is quite agreeable the manner of expression in two inventories of the church, printed in Dugdale's history of S. Paul's : in the one made A.D. 1298, books are simply spoken of “de usu S. Pauli :” but in the other, in 1486, we have “*Vetus Missale*,” “*Aliud vetus Missale secundum usum S. Pauli* :” and “*Unum Ordinale secundum primariam ordinationem et antiquam ecclesiæ S. Pauli*.”⁹⁷ But we have the best evidence that in the cathedral of S. Paul the Use of Sarum was not admitted without also the retaining of some of its own old peculiar ceremonies : I mean, that of the author of the *Defensorium Directorii*, who says, speaking on a certain point: “*Probatur ista assertio esse vera per venerabiles viros ac patres canonicos ecclesiæ sancti Pauli Londonensis, qui totum officium divinum in cantando et legendo observant secundum usum Sarum ecclesiæ. Sed de cærimonii vel observationibus ejusdem nihil curantes : sed custodiunt antiquas observantias in ecclesia sancti Pauli a primordio illic usitatas.*”⁹⁸

⁹⁶ Ecclesiastical Hist. vol. i. p. 649. And *Dugdale*. S. Paul's. p. 22.

⁹⁷ *P.* 233. 284.

⁹⁸ *Monumenta Ritualia*. vol. ii. p. 346. The practice of the Cathedral of S. Paul was, as we may suppose, of considerable authority : and the “*Defensorium*” appeals in another place to it, upon a disputed point : (*P.* 342,) where the decision of the “*Venerabiles Cardinales Ecclesiæ sancti Pauli*” is given. As *Du Cange* tells us, there were in many Cathedrals and Monasteries

appointed some chief among the priests, “*quibus ex concessione summorum Pontificum licitum erat, ut soli ad præcipuum altare, quod *cardinale* vocabant, unde *Cardinales* dicti, solemnem Missam celebrarent.*” *Verb.* Presbyter. But I think in the present instance reference is made to “*the Cardinals of the Choir*,” who were officers of S. Paul's cathedral, chosen from the minor canons by the Dean and Chapter, to have the direction of the choir. See some ancient statutes, printed in *Dugdale*. Hist. of S. Paul's. *Appendix*. p. 241.

In the library of the British Museum is preserved a manuscript, which is called in the catalogue, “*Missale in usum D. Pauli:*”⁹⁹ from which we might have hoped to obtain much information upon this point. And we doubtless should, had it been a copy of the old Use of that church: but it is later than 1414, and the rubries throughout speak of, and are according to, the Use of Sarum: nor do there seem to be any variations of the slightest importance, with one exception. Indeed, the only authority why it has been so called, “*of S. Paul’s*” appears to have been a tradition, and possibly a correct one, that it formerly belonged to that Cathedral. I say correct, because although like most copies of the missal in that age it has numerous directions which refer to parish churches, and not to cathedrals, it has also some rubries which could relate only to a large establishment of priests and ministers. Nor can there be any doubt but that it was the property of some great church in London: which is clear from the rubric upon the feast of S. Mark, directing the procession upon that day to go to some church in the city or in the suburbs, and return after the celebration of mass to their own church. But the exception which I spoke of is very remarkable: viz. the Canon of this manuscript contains the prayer “*Agimus tibi Deo Patri gratias:*”¹ which is the only example I have met with, except in the Hereford missal. The prayers which precede it are however not according to the Hereford, but to the Salisbury Use.

That the old Use of S. Paul’s was held in high estimation, we have a proof in an order relating to Barking monastery, in Essex, about 1390. “*Nota quod diversis temporibus intra conventum nonnullae emanarunt altercationes — igitur nos cupientes dictas altercationes et*

⁹⁹ *Harleian MS. 2787.* Imperfect.

¹ See below: “*Canon Missæ*,” p. 121.

discordias radicitus extirpari præsenti extirpamus edicto secundum antiquas consuetudines istius domus approbatas, quod conventus prædictus tres modos diversos habeat sui servitii dicendi ; primo horas suas dicat secundum regulam Sancti Benedicti ; Psalterium suum secundum cursum Curiæ Romanæ ; Missam vero secundum usum ecclesiæ Sancti Pauli Londoniarum.”²

The other case to which I alluded, is of Exeter. In the year 1339 Bishop Grandisson drew up a body of statutes for his new and most munificent foundation of the collegiate church of S. Mary, at Ottery. These enter into minute particulars of the services to be performed by the members of the college ; and two or three chapters, whilst they prove that the Sarum was then the received Use of the diocese, no less shew a sort of jealousy still existing, and an earnest desire upon the part of the Bishop to establish an “Exeter Use.” Thus in the 7th he speaks of the Divine Office on certain occasions being performed “secundum ordinale et consuetudinariū quæ eis fecimus et extraximus ex Exoniæ et Sarum usibus.”³ Again in the 10th that all the members should attend chapter, “saltem in sabbato, ut Exoniæ fit.” In the 36th we have the two Uses identified : “Item volumus quod in majoribus festis—sicut Sarum et sicut Exon.” and, once more, in the 77th the Bishop speaks out very plainly. “Item statuimus quod ubiquecumque ordinale vel consuetudinariū vel statuta nostra non sufficient forte in multis faciendis per totum annum,

² *Dugdale. Monasticon Anglie.* vol. i. p. 437. Note k. Upon the distinction between the Use “Romanæ ecclesiæ,” and “Romanæ curiæ,” see *Azevedo, De Div. Off. Exercit.* ix. p. 33. “Officium Curiæ contractum erat, et mutationibus ob varias et continuas occupationes Summi Pontifi-

cis, et Cardinalium, aliorumque Prælatorum, qui ei in sacello diu, noctuque interesse solebant.”

³ This Ordinal is still extant ; and preserved in the Exchequer Chamber of the Dean and Chapter of Exeter. See some account of it in the *Monumenta Ritualia.* vol. i. p. xlivj.

quod tunc recurratur ad ordinale et consuetudinarium Sarum. Ita tamen quod semper omnia per nos disposita firmiter observentur. Nolumus tamen quod allegent vel dicant unquam se usum tenere Sarum, sed magis Exoniæ, vel, ut verius dicant, usum per nos eis traditum proprium et speciale.”⁴ But the extent to which the Bishop’s wishes were carried in this matter, must remain doubtful: at least however we find about one hundred years after, in 1436, an order made by the founder of “Godeshous,” a charitable institution for the poor in the same city of Exeter, that the chaplain should say his office “secundum usum Sarum.”⁵

I would add before I pass on, that we have proof of the acceptance of the Use of Sarum in the county of Suffolk, from the fact that one of the Ordinals of that Church preserved in the library of the British Museum, was one of the service-books of the parish-church of Rysbey.⁶ And again, the Sarum breviary itself refers to the Use of the Church of Lichfield, upon S. Cedde’s day. (March 2nd.) We must not however conclude that in other respects the Use of Lichfield varied from the Sarum: but that this particular exception was allowed as a peculiarity retained by that Church, upon the festival of its patron.

According then to these various Uses of Sarum, York, Bangor, Hereford, and Lincoln,⁷ (various yet harmoni-

⁴ *Oliver. Monasticon Exon. p. 268. et seqq.*

⁵ *Monasticon Exon. p. 404.*

⁶ See *Monumenta Ritualia. vol. i. p. xlviij. Note 83.*

⁷ So Asseman reckons five Uses, upon the authority doubtless of the Preface to the Common Prayer Book. *Codex Liturgic. tom. iv. pars. iii. 36.* And the author of the “Ordinarye of a Christen

man,” speaks of them in a general way: “That on the holy sondays and other grete feestes and solempnytees gynen by comaundemente, after dyuersyte of the countre and of the dyoces, euery man ought to here masse entyerly yf he haue no lettyng nor excusacyon reasonable by the whiche he may be excused.” *Sign. L. iiiij. b. Edit. Wynkyn de Worde.*

ous,) the Holy Eucharist was celebrated in England until the year 1547, the first of king Edward VI. Their origin cannot be attributed merely to man's ingenuity and learning, or even piety ; but they are to be traced, as has been very briefly shewn, through the Sacramentaries of Gregory and Gelasius and Leo, to the well-spring of all Christian truth, the age of the Apostles.

In March, 1548, a Form was drawn up to be used in the *distribution* of the consecrated elements, at Communion. By this there was to be no alteration made in the old services, although a very significant hint was given of the intention of the King's advisers ; but after the priest had himself communicated,⁸ he was to exhort the people to a worthy partaking with him, in almost the words which we still use ; beginning, “Dearly beloved in the Lord, ye, coming to this holy communion, must consider what St. Paul writeth to the Corinthians,” &c. This was to be followed by a charge to all open sinners to withdraw, and the invitation (as at present) “ You that do truly and earnestly repent you of your sins, &c. :” after which (also very nearly as we have them now) a confession, and absolution, and the comfortable words, and the prayer of humble access ; and then the Body and the Blood were given, with these words : “ The body

⁸ The first Rubric relating to the distribution is sufficiently important to be given at length. “The time of the communion shall be immediately after that the Priest himself hath received the sacrament, without the varying of any other rite or ceremony in the mass, (*until other Order shall be provided*) but as heretofore usually the Priest hath done with the sacrament of the body, to prepare, bless, and consecrate so much as will serve the people ; so it shall continue

still after the same manner and form, save that he shall bless and consecrate the biggest chalice, or some fair and convenient cup or cups full of wine, with some water put unto it ; and that day not drink it up all himself, but taking one only sup or draught, leave the rest upon the altar covered, and turn to them that are disposed to be partakers of the communion, and shall thus exhort them as followeth : Dearly beloved in the Lord,” &c.

of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee, preserve thy body unto everlasting life :” and, “ The blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was shed for thee, preserve thy soul to everlasting life.” Having received, the people were dismissed with a Blessing.⁹

Doubtless this was a good order of communion so far as it restored the Cup once more to the laity ; and the letter of the privy council to the Bishops, which accompanied it, truly said, “ that according to the first institution and use of the primitive Church, the most holy Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, should be distributed to the people under the kinds of bread and wine.”¹⁰ This indeed is a fact which

⁹ The whole form is in *Wilkins.* Concil. iv. 11. And at the end of the two Common Prayer Books of Edward the Sixth, reprinted by Dr. Cardwell.

It may not be amiss to remark that the necessity of some revision of the Service-Books and Rituals, was about this time generally acknowledged throughout the western Church : and steps, not only in England, were taken to reduce the numerous variations of particular Uses, to a greater uniformity. See upon this, the Preface to the modern Breviary and Missal of the Church of Rome : and compare, *Gerbert. De Cantu. tom. ii. 175, etc. Gavantus. Thesaurus. tom. ii. p. 13.* Indeed so great a stress was laid upon uniformity, that although consideration was had of a prescription of 200 years, yet if the revised Roman Use was once admitted, there was no change to be allowed again. “ *Usus Missalis, et Breviarii Romani semel introductus*

in aliqua ecclesia, quæ habebat particolare Missale et Breviarium, confirmandus est, nec licet redire ad usum antiqui Missalis, et Breviarii.” *Sac. Rit. Congr. 15. Martii. 1608. Gavant. i. 564.*

¹⁰ A Proclamation was attached to the Order of Communion, which referred to the decision which the Parliament, in the first Act passed in this reign, had come to upon this subject. The words of the Act are, “ *Forasmuche as it is more agreeable, both to the first institution of the saied Sacramente,—and also more conformable to the commō use and practise bothe of the Apostles, and of the primitive Churche, by the space of five hundred yeres, and more, after Christes ascention, that the saied blessed Sacramente should be ministred to al Christian people under bothe the kindes of bread and wine, then under the fourme of bread onelie.*” *Grafton’s “ Statutes made in the first yere of Edw. 6th. &c.”* This Act

the most learned supporters of the practice of communion under one kind only do not attempt to deny: to use the words of Cardinal Bona: “semper enim, et ubique ab Ecclesiæ primordiis usque ad sæculum XII. sub specie panis et vini communicarunt fideles.”¹¹ No change could be therefore so justifiable, so necessary, as that which after an interruption of some three hundred years, restored the undoubted practice of twelve hundred years, and of the age of the Apostles: and which moreover, faithfully relying upon the command of our Blessed Lord, cut short all disputes upon a question which involves very terrible consequences, viz. how far communion under one kind only is communion at all.

Again, this order of communion was a most praiseworthy step towards a revival of the liturgy in “a tongue understood of the people.” I do not deny that stronger reasons have been produced by many authors for the sufferance, it cannot be put upon higher grounds, of a dead or foreign language in the celebration of the Holy Eucharist, than ever have been, or can be alleged for the denial of the Cup: but these avail not in those cases, where liturgies are adapted by learned men, and under the guidance and authority of national Churches, to the gradual changes which, as time goes on, must take

ordered the Communion in both kinds to be given, when desired, to every person: and that the Priest should make “a godlie exhortaciō, wherein shalbe foorth expressed the beneficē and couinfort promised to them, which woorthelie receive the holie Sacrament, and daungier and indignacion of God threatened to them, whiche shall presume to receive the same unwoorthelie, to the ende that every manne maie trie and examine his owne conscience before he shal re-

ceive the same.” Whatever may be said about disobedience to the Form soon after published, it is scarcely to be supposed, that many priests paid attention to an order merely of the parliament; and interpolated an extemporary exhortation into the authorized Use to which they had been accustomed, and whose rubrics they were canonically bound to observe.

¹¹ *Rerum Liturg. lib. ii. cap. xvij. §. 1.*

place in the vulgar tongue. Hence, it may remain a question, whether we do not too hastily now-a-days, translate our Common Prayer Book, at least the more solemn parts of it, those I mean relating to the due administration of the sacraments, into the languages of heathen people, which we do not ourselves fully understand? One thing is unhappily most certain: an easy door is opened for designing men, to intrude their own heretical opinions. Secure from almost the possibility of detection, innumerable errors may be foisted in, and the most important doctrines of the Faith perverted, under the apparent sanction of the Catholic Church of England herself; the truth of regeneration in Baptism be denied, or of the communion of the Body and Blood of our Blessed Saviour in the Holy Eucharist. Thus we may give in name only and not indeed the Common Prayer Book of the church of England, to some new-converted nation in their own tongue; and blindly by her authority plant in most pestilent heresies, which even succeeding centuries may not be able to eradicate.

And to such a reason would I refer the instance which has been more than once appealed to, as shewing an inconsistency in the practice of the church of England; (especially within the last few years, by one of the most eminent living writers of the Roman communion in this country:)¹² namely, that in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, the observance of the Common Prayer Book was made obligatory upon the Irish people, although as yet it had not been translated into their language. Heylin says,¹³ "that no care was taken:" this is a mere assumption: and as a fact, the first edition in Irish was published very early in the reign of James the First, in 1609: and there might have been, as doubtless there were, many

¹² *Dr. Rock.* *Hierurgia.* vol. i. p. 319.

¹³ *Heylin.* *Hist. of the Reformation.* p. 128.

better reasons for enforcing the reformed service and offices of the church of England, than for hastily attempting the very difficult task of a translation of them into the vulgar tongue. But this is neither the time nor the place for me to do more than allude to this most important subject.

The evil which must follow a stubborn, because unnecessary, adhesion to the use of a dead tongue in the public offices of the Church, is not unacknowledged by several writers of the Roman communion. Thus Gerbert, whilst he dares not perhaps go so far as to own the necessity of translations, yet complains of the consequence in the case of those who, though ignorant of the language, are bound by their rules to recite the Office daily. “*Dolendum vero est, illud deinceps penitus cessasse studium, ita ut hodie moniales nec quidquam intelligent, quid psallant, contra Apostoli monitum et adhortationem.*”¹⁴ Extracts from earlier authors have been collected by Cassander,¹⁵ to which I would refer the reader: particularly directing his attention to one, *Billet in Summa*, who, speaking of the abuse in persisting in the observance of a dead language in his day, concludes: “*Videtur ergo potius esse tacendum, quam psallendum; potius silendum, quam tripudiandum.*”

Nevertheless serious objections lay against this order of 1548, not the least of which was that a custom very far from primitive was continued; viz. that either those who intended to communicate were not required or expected to be present during the Holy Service, or that having once confessed and received absolution, they should again confess and be absolved. It must be remembered that the point before us now is, the distribution to the communicants during the celebration of the service.

¹⁴ *De Cantu, tom. ii. p. 202.*

¹⁵ *Opera. p. 86. Liturgica. cap. xxxvi.*

Anciently it is well known such was not the practice : as Romsée acknowledges. “ Evidem olim quando sub sacrificio distribuebatur Eucharistia, iis prætermis, sacerdos accedebat ad communicandos, quibus distribuens sacramentum simpliciter dicebat : *Corpus Domini nostri*, vel alia verba, juxta disciplinam antiquam Ecclesiæ.”¹⁶ And this custom was not intruded upon until the 13th century, when the mendicant orders, fond of novelties, introduced the new one,¹⁷ which was soon adopted into the liturgies of the Roman and English churches.

¹⁶ Opera. tom. iv. p. 364.

¹⁷ Morinus : *de pœnit.* lib. viii. cap. 9. Cit. Romsee.

CHAPTER V.



ASSING by another question which at the time of the publication of the Order of 1548 excited very great displeasure, viz. that auricular confession¹⁸ was not enjoined by it as a necessary preparation to a worthy receiving of the Eucharist ; there are two points upon which I would make some remarks, and of which the Order not unnaturally suggests to us the consideration ; occupying as it does the intermediate ground between the total rejection by the church of England, as liturgies, of the old Uses, and the acceptance of the first Common Prayer Book of King Edward the 6th. To these I shall devote the present chapter.

First, with regard to being present during the previous service, I do not mean of Matins and of the Litany, which in modern practice almost always are joined with it, but of the Liturgy itself, there are some who argue that this is not necessary, but that a parishioner (or indeed any one) may partake of the consecrated elements, who enters the church for that purpose even so late as after the distribution has commenced. I am sorry to say that this is no exaggeration, because not only did I myself witness such an instance, not long ago ; but it is even still in the same parish defended upon (we must, I suppose, conclude) some principle, and persisted in as a matter of practice. But no one who has examined these

¹⁸ The reader must remember that the absolution which it did require, and which had already occurred in the Ordinary of the Mass,

(of which therefore the same view was held) was not sacramental, but of a far lower kind, of defects and failings, rather than of sins.

questions can assert, that it is either according to primitive custom or to the intention of the English church.

People, I conceive, who are hindered against their wills from being present at the beginning of our present Communion Office, may be allowed to enter at any time previous to the exhortation, “Ye that do truly and earnestly repent you of your sins, &c.” Following this and the confession and absolution, (a portion of the service which it is most desirable all communicants should be present at,) begins the more solemn part, the Anaphora, with the ancient form, “Lift up your hearts.” After its commencement, surely they should not enter. Else how can they say that they have offered up that sacrifice, which together with the priest, as God’s people, they have power to offer?¹⁹ In the Apostolical constitutions, people are allowed to be admitted during the previous prayers, or the reading of the lessons, or the sermon: but it is not

¹⁹ It is not necessary to heap up authorities upon this point: but, referring the reader to *Johnson, Unbl. Sacr. ch. ii. §. 4.* and to the *Gemma Animæ. lib. i. cap. 30.* I shall make two extracts from writers of the English and the Roman Churches. Le Brun says: “Veneres patres animadvertisunt bifarium dici posse Fideles sacrificium offerre. *Sacrificium offerri censetur, inquit Hilarius Diaconus saeculo IV. cum oblationes præstantur, quas cum iis omnibus quæ ad sacrificium requiruntur, ad altare sacerdos offert.* Secundo loco Fideles offerunt sacrificium laudis, sacerdoti se addentes, ut spiritu una cum ipso Christi sacrificium offerant, quod verum laudis sacrificium est, quodque unum honore Deum afficeret, nobisque nullum non ad salu-

tem subsidium et beneficium comparare potest.” *Opera. tom. i. p. 208.* And Archbishop Laud against Fisher: “At, and in the Eucharist, wee offer up to God *three sacrifices.* One by the *Priest* only, that’s the *Commemorative Sacrifice* of Christ’s Death represented in Bread broken, and Wine poured out. Another by the *Priest* and the *People*, joynly, and that is the *Sacrifice of Praise and Thanksgiving*, for all the Benefits and graces we receive by the precious Death of Christ. The Third, by *every particular man for himself only*, and that is the *Sacrifice* of every man’s *Body*, and *Soule*, to serve him in both, all the rest of his life, for this blessing thus bestowed on him.” § 35. p. 305. *Edit. 1639.*

conceived that such liberty would be taken afterwards. I would refer especially to the 58th Ch. of the 2nd book, where particular directions are given how honourable or poor persons are to be received who should enter up to that time. And again, to the latter part of the 11th Ch. of the 8th book, where deacons are appointed to stand at the door by the men's side, and deaconesses by the other, that no one should go out, or the doors be opened, even though one of the faithful should apply for admission, during the offering of the sacrifice : “*κατατον καιρον της αναφορας.*”

In large towns where there are many churches, some only very short distances from each other, and considerable numbers to communicate, it is not an uncommon thing for the clergy of one church, where there is not a communion, to hasten after the conclusion of their own duties to assist in a neighbouring church, where there is one. So long as communions are not more frequent than they are now and the number of the clergy so limited, this is an assistance, against the giving of which not only nothing which I have said militates, but which is perhaps to be commended. But it is a practice which must not exceed its due and accustomed bounds, those, I mean, which have already been laid down : it is a practice which is rather permitted under the necessities of the time, than to be looked upon as allowable if those necessities were removed.

For, and it must be remembered that I am speaking of our own days in which three Offices properly distinct are, it may be said, invariably mixed up and joined together, it is not even when most decorously conducted, quite free from an appearance of intrusion into sacred duties which have long before begun. And if this is the case when every care is taken to prevent it, by arriving at the church before non-communicants have departed, I must leave the reader to imagine, how utterly devoid of all reverence must be the hurried and breathless en-

trance of a person, not merely into the church, but into the chancel, and throwing off of coats, and huddling on of a surplice, at any time during the celebration of the Holy Eucharist, though (as has been said) after the distribution has commenced, provided only that it be not finished.

The second question to which I have alluded will require rather a longer consideration : it is this ; whether non-communicants ought or ought not to be present during the entire Service : and of course another is included in this, viz. whether the almost universal practice of the church of England now, which allows and recommends their departure from the church at an early period of it, is to be defended or not ? I shall now attempt to shew that non-communicants ought not, if possible, to be allowed to be present during the whole celebration of the Eucharist, and much less therefore should their departure be prevented.

It cannot be said that this is not a subject which deserves consideration, or one upon which a reasonable conclusion is not likely to be of benefit. For it has been already made a practical question : the constant custom of the church of England for some three hundred years has within the last four years been interrupted, and whole parishes (in more instances than one large and important parishes,) have been thrown most unnecessarily into confusion and excitement. Nor has this passed away ; at the time that I am now writing, there is a sort of public controversy being carried on, and attempts made to enforce and to prove the propriety of non-communicants remaining in the church during the whole service.

The first point to which I shall direct the reader's attention will be, a passage in the well-known judgment of the Lord Bishop of Exeter, in the case of the Rev. W. Blunt. It appears that Mr. Blunt had “ compelled all persons to remain in church on sacrament sundays until the con-

elusion of the exhortation. That is, “Dearly beloved in the Lord, &c.” This was the charge against the clergyman; and the reader will see that it does not strictly enter into the exact question before us, as Mr. Blunt seems then, after the exhortation, to have been accustomed to pause, and allow all to depart, who were not disposed, or able with safe consciences, to communicate.

But in expressing his disapproval of Mr. Blunt’s mode of proceeding in this matter, the Bishop further says: “What may be the particular part of the service, and whether there be any, when those who do not propose to partake of the holy communion may properly leave the church, is not declared. Manifestly they ought not to go before that part of the service begins which is used only at the actual celebration of the holy communion—not, therefore, until after the prayer for the church militant. But ought they to go then? There is no direction requiring them to go, or recognising their departure. The earlier Books of Common Prayer plainly contemplate their remaining during the whole administration; for the invitation to those who come to receive the sacrament was, until the last review, worded thus: ‘Draw near and take this holy sacrament to your comfort; make your humble confession to Almighty God *before this congregation here gathered together in His name* meekly kneeling upon your knees.’ In the present form there is no such recognition of a *congregation*, besides those who are about to communicate; yet there is, I repeat, nothing to indicate their departure before the close of the service.”²⁰ Now I conceive there can be

²⁰ *Stephens.* Collection of Ecclesiastical Statutes. P. 2053. A very valuable publication: in which the Bishop of Exeter’s judgment in this case, with other documents re-

lating to the diocese at the same time, is carefully reprinted: especially, a most excellent “*Letter from the Bishop of Exeter to the Editor*,” commenting on, and ex-

little doubt, that the Bishop decides nothing in the above extract, and indeed shortly afterwards by approving of non-communicants not departing “until after the exhortation,” it would seem that we might conclude they ought to depart then;—nevertheless, I say, this extract has already been more than once appealed to, as confirming the opinions of those who would allow no one to depart until the conclusion of the service.

The difficulty which the Bishop puts, if I am not mistaken, rests upon the term *congregation* in the earlier Books and upon the acknowledged fact that in our present Book there is no express order made, or time appointed, for non-communicants to leave. And the *congregation* is therefore supposed to mean the non-communicants. But surely if this is so, it would be a most strange thing, unheard of elsewhere during the whole history of the Church of Christ, that those who with earnest and contrite hearts, in full assurance of faith, are prepared to receive the Body and the Blood of Christ, and to show their entire communion with Him, and with His Church, should first be called upon to make their confession to Almighty God, general though it be, in the presence not accidental but desired of the profane, the careless, the despisers; it may be, of the unbaptized. Humiliation is a chief part of confession and repentance; but such a humiliation as this could never have been intended. Nor can I omit to add, that in the sentence cited by the Bishop, it was not always “this congregation” but in the Order of 1548, and the First Book of 1549, “His holy Church.” And could this apply to those of whom I have just spoken?

The congregation means therefore the communicants themselves: all the Common Prayer Books from the

posing the extraordinary statements in his Charge to the candidates for made by the Bishop of Worcester ordination, in Dec. 1844.

First in 1549 to that of 1662, declare that there shall be no communion, “except there be some,”²¹ “except there be four, or three at the least,”²² to communicate with the priest. Such a rule was uncalled for in the Order of 1548, which was intended only to be temporary, and which in its second rubric necessarily supposes the presence of others besides the priest. These then constituted the “holy church” or the “congregation” of the Common Prayer Books down to 1662: and there is a very satisfactory explanation to be given, why some such words should have been inserted. Because the form of confession, (as the reader may see below) ran, according to the old missals, “Confiteor Deo, beatae Mariae, omnibus sanctis,” as well as “et vobis, fratres:” and, without entering into the question of the presence of holy spirits with us and among us, when we are engaged in the duties of public worship, I think that the revisers of the liturgy acted wisely, in removing all reference to them on such an occasion: for it was not in any way required, and they had had lamentable proofs of the practical evils which had followed an unscriptural excess of devotion to the blessed Virgin and the saints, and of a continual offering up of prayers, which we have not authority to assure us will be either heard or answered.

But in 1662, the same reasons existed no longer: men’s minds had become fixed in a more pure belief, and a better judgment as to whom prayer should address: namely, the Only Three Persons of the Undivided Trinity. Hence, without specifying before whom the confession to Almighty God should be made; or appearing any longer to limit it to things visible, viz. the congregation gathered in His holy Name; this passage, as altogether uncalled for, was wisely omitted.

More than this, all the Common Prayer Books after

²¹ May. 1549.

²² 1552. 1559. 1604. 1662.

1549 to 1662, do not “plainly contemplate non-communicants remaining during the whole administration,” but rather insist in strong terms upon their departure. Even the first Book directs them to depart out of the quire, and I am not at all inclined to think it recognises their continued presence in other parts of the church; but having just used the word, it was somewhat heedlessly repeated: it is quite clear that no such separation is ordered, as that communicants should be bound to go into the quire; and the intention of the rubric, as it appears to me, was to keep these quiet in their places, whether in the quire, or out of the quire, whilst the non-communicants naturally departed altogether.

But the rubric is, I allow, not clear either way, and perhaps at the time, contrary to the intention of the revisers of the liturgy, non-communicants occasionally did remain, gazing and looking on, resting upon its doubtful manner of expression. What then do we find in the Books of 1552, 1559, 1604, 1625, down to 1662? we do *not* find this ill-expressed²³ rubric: but, in the exhortation to negligent people, these remarkable words. “Whereas ye offend God so sore in refusing this holy banquet, I admonish, exhort, and beseech you, that unto this unkindness, ye will not add any more: which thing ye shall do, if ye stand by as gazers and lookers of them that do communicate, and be not partakers of the same yourselves.—Wherefore rather than ye should so do, depart you hence, and give place to them that be godly disposed.” Surely here the non-communicants are desired to depart, in order that they might not “gaze and look on,” which those who insist upon the meaning of

²³ Perhaps those who think otherwise will explain what we are to understand by, “All other (that mind not to receive the Holy Communion) shall depart out of the quire, except the Ministers and Clerks.”

the word *quire* in the rubric above, and would now induce them to remain, propose as the object of their doing so.

Again, it is to be considered, that the short-lived abuse which may have sprung up under the authority of the rubric of the 1549 Book, having been put an end to by the express denunciations of the Book of 1552 ; and the practice of non-communicants leaving the church having been confirmed by the constant observance of one hundred years ; the revisers of the Liturgy in 1662, not needlessly shortened the exhortation, whilst they scarcely, it would seem, thought it necessary to lay down a strict rule, and appoint a set time for the departing. As matters have turned out, it would have been well if they had done so.

I said above, that a controversy is being, at this time, carried on, upon the subject which we are now discussing : but this is not easy to be referred to, occurring as it does in a weekly periodical.²⁴ This controversy labours also, except in one case, under the disadvantage of anonymous authors ; but the chief point is, it plainly shows that agitation, if I may so call it, is continued upon the question, and we have reason to fear that further attempts may be made to induce, if not to press, non-communicants to remain. This is, in fact, the sole point of importance about it ; for except one letter, signed “ *Presbyter Anglo-Catholicus*,” the whole is characterized by great looseness of argument, and an unwarranted assumption of facts, upon the proved truth of which the decision would depend. One writer quietly cuts the matter very short, and would have us understand, that “ the English Church does not sanction any appeal to the example of the primitive Church.”

²⁴ The *English Churchman*. bound to say upon Church principles, and not a little influential. 1846. A paper conducted I am

Thinking otherwise however, and reminding the reader of the canon made in the year 1571, my first business would have been to explain what the custom of the primitive Church was: but it is so well known that during the first five centuries at least, the universal practice was to allow no one to be present except communicants, and the last class of penitents, that it would be a waste of space and time to repeat authorities which have been cited over and over again. Those who wish to examine them, may especially consult *Bona, de rebus Liturgicis*, Lib. 1. Cap. xvi.: and *Bingham, Christian Antiquities*, Book 15. I would repeat that I pass on thus briefly, only because the fact of the practice of the earliest ages of the Church is both so certain and so generally owned; and not because it is of little importance in the decision which we ought to come to in this matter: for on the contrary, it is not simply of importance, but in all doubtful matters, of obligation: both by the decision of the Church of England herself, and by the united testimony of her best divines. So that even allowing that there was no more to say, we should already have learned enough, having discovered the rule which governed the first five centuries.²⁵

²⁵ There is one canon which I would notice in a note, being of the highest importance, and apparently opposing the unvaried agreement of all other ancient practice. It is the ninth of the Apostolical Canons. “*Omnes fideles qui ingrediuntur, et scripturas audiunt, in precatione autem et sacra communione non permanent, ut ecclesiae confusionem afferentes, segregari oportet.*” But the object was, not to enforce the attendance of non-communicants, as we call them now-a-days, and oblige the unworthy, or the sceptic,

or the scoffer to remain, but the necessity of communion. The canon does not speak only of the prayers, but of the actual partaking. And this is the view which the greatest commentators have taken. Thus *Balsamon* says: “*Præsentis canonis constitutio est acerbissima. Segregat enim eos qui in ecclesiam convenient, et non ad finem usque expectant, nec communicant.*” And *Zonaras* to the same effect: “*Canon præsens exigit omnes, dum sanctum celebratur sacrificium, ad finem usque in oratione, sanctaque*

But there seems to be no slight ground to suppose that for a much longer period the old discipline was, if not in all churches, yet retained in many: Bona²⁶ owns that it fell not into disuse until the 8th century, and Morinus²⁷ acknowledges to the same: but in the 9th century Amalarius has the following important testimony; speaking of the origin of the term Missa, he continues: “Consuetudo nostra tenet, ut catechumenos repellamus ante Evangelium. Non mihi videtur ex ratione

communione perseverare. Siquidem tum temporis a laicis exigebatur, ut frequenter communicarent.” *Beverege*. Pandeet. Canon. tom. i. p. 6. Nor, in connection with this famous canon, must we overlook the second canon of the council of Antioch, which repeats almost the same words: and in his exposition of this, *Balsamon* lays down what we are strictly to understand by the term Liturgy, or that part of the Holy Service, up to the beginning of which non-communicants were at liberty to depart. He refers to the former one of the Apostolical collection, and continues: “De liturgia autem, eaque sola dictos Can. haec decrevisse intellige; non item de aliis ecclesiasticis officiis. Quoniam autem dicunt quidam, et quamobrem Patriarcha universalis sancta dominica a loco ejus prodiens non perseverat usque ad liturgiae absolutionem, sed post evangelium recedit? Hisce dicimus, quod divina liturgia post sancti evangelii lectionem proprie celebratur. Quandoquidem enim in sanctis ecclesiis omnia canimus in Dei gloriam, sive e veteri sint testamento, sive e novo; post prin-

cipium enim protinus ordine recitantur psalmi, usque ad Apostoli lectionem qui quidem sunt ex veteri testamento. Post evangelium autem incipit caerimonia celebrandi ineruenti sacrificii: Patriarcha ante hanc, et post sanctum Evangelium recte discedit, et can. non transgreditur. Ut nec quis transgreditur, si post evangelium vel ante evangelium discedit; verum ob necessariam piamque causam, non ob vituperabilem.” *Ibid. p. 432.* To return for an instant to the Apostolical canon, it may be added, that this last explanation reconciles completely with the rest, that also of *Aristenus*, who declares, that it forbids any one to depart, “dum adhuc saera liturgia celebratur.”

The present practice therefore of the Church of England, that non-communicants should leave the church before the Liturgy, in its strict sense, begins; and that all should communicate who remain, is as it appears to me in exact accordance with the Apostolical and Antiochean canons.

²⁶ *Opera. tom. i. p. 350.*

²⁷ *Opera posthum: de Catech. cap. 16.*

incumbere, cum proculdubio prædictoribus gentium præceptum sit, ut evangelium eis prædicent: sed sacrificio omnino interesse non possunt, nisi renati, quia neque pro eis rogatur a sacerdote in consecratione corporis Domini, neque confectum illis porrigitur. Sic orat sacerdos pro circumstantibus: Memento Domine famulorum famularumque tuarum, et omnium adstantium, quorum tibi fides cognita est, et nota devotio. Nondum renati, infideles vocantur, non fideles. Igitur non possumus animadvertere pro illis constitutam esse orationem in officio confectionis corporis Christi. Quapropter merito eo tempore recedunt, quo sacrificium celebratur.”²⁸ I am aware that Bona, who cites the first words only, attempts to explain this statement away, as if its author was speaking of some ceremony on a particular occasion: but of this there is not a trace; Amalarius is describing the whole service of the liturgy, and all its parts.

Now it must not be forgotten that there is a wide difference between this practice ceasing to be observed in the fifth century, or in the tenth, because according to Amalarius, it is certain it was still observed in the ninth. How much later, it may not be easy to decide: and the Church of England would have restored a custom which had been interrupted not for a thousand years, but for five or six hundred only.

Nor is it to be overlooked that without an exception, the ritualists of the middle ages never mention in terms of disapproval the ancient custom, nor even speak of that which had taken the place of it and was observed in their own times, as the rather to be commended. One would suppose that the primitive rites had never been discontinued, from the manner in which the old distinctions were carefully preserved: and it is difficult to conceive but that, if it might have been, they would have

²⁸ De eccles. Off. lib. iii. cap. 36.

desired to have had the early discipline restored. Thus in the 13th century, Durand says: “Missa catechumenorum est ab introitu usque post offertorium, quæ missa ab emitendo dicitur, quoniam quando sacerdos incipit consecrare eucharistiam, catechumeni foris de ecclesia mittuntur.—Missa vero fidelium est ab offertorio usque ad post-communionem.”²⁹ Again, Gabriel Biel, in the 14th century. “Melius dividitur Missa in tres partes, sc. in præparationem tam populi, quam materiæ consecrandæ; in eucharistiæ consecrationem et oblationem; in consecratæ communionem et mysterii conclusionem. Prima pars potest dici missa catechumenorum, pro eo quod major pars admittit catechumenos, secunda canon, tertia communio.”³⁰ And, once more, Radulph Tun-
grensis about the same time, after describing the rites observed at communion, plainly states the fact, “omnes debent communicare.”³¹

In after years, at a period when every concession made in favour of the return to a better practice in the Church of England, by her opponents who refused to remain in her communion, is of importance, we find the same opinions expressed in even plainer terms. Thus Harding in his reply to Jewell’s apology, is excusing Pighius who had been cited as allowing that abuses had crept into the celebration of mass. “He meaneth not,” says Harding, “that the Masse itself is erroneous, as ful wel there he declareth: but that men be faulty in abusing that holy sacrifice. For many come to the auiter unworthely. Many be present at it, that ought not to come within the church dores.”³² Again the authors of a catechetical work in 1647: “whosoever doth hear masse in sinne, doth besides the irreverence committed

²⁹ Rationale. *lib. iv. cap. 1. 45.* *densis: de Sacramental. iv. 33.*

³⁰ In *Canone. lect. 15.* *fol. 76.*

³¹ *De Canonum observ. Prop. 23.* And see also *Thomas Wal-* ³² *Confutation of the Apology. p. 207. Edit. 1565. 4to.*

against the highest mysterie in Christian religion, render himself unworthy of those speciall benefites, which are obteined by this Sacrifice. Which appeareth plainly by the practise of the primitive church, and also by the present practise ordained by the councell of Trent, which commandeth Bishops, *that they should not permit in their Diocesses any publicke and notorious sinner to be present at Masse.* Yea, the same councell, to expresse more fully the great reurence that is required at this holy mystery, commandeth all Bishops, *that they should not suffer any Priest to say Masse, unlesse those who be present, do first by a decent composition of their body, shew, that they are present not only in body, but also in minde, and with a devout affection of heart.*³³ These extracts fully recognize the principle which I am contending for. Once more, the author of the “Liturgical discourse of the Mass.” He is considering whether indiseriminately men should be allowed to be present during the whole service: and concludes in the negative: “as being more conformable to the practice of God’s holy Church, which did never esteem any one worthy to be present at these sacred mysteries, until they were fully instructed, and truly converted, and made true members of the Catholic Church.”³⁴

I shall only further make one or two extracts from documents which were published about the time, or soon after, of the Reformation: as confirmatory of the interpretation which has been given above, as the correct one to be put upon the Common Prayer Books of Edward’s and Elizabeth’s reigns.

³³ A Declaration of the principall pointes of Christian Doctrine, gathered ovt of diuerse Catechismes, and set forth by the English Priests dwelling in Tournay Colledge. p. 582. The italics are in the original:

being extracts from the Council of Trent: *Sessio xxii.* “Decretum de observandis et evitandis in celebrazione missæ.”

³⁴ *Preface*, p. 20.

The first which claims attention is the 23rd of the Injunctions of K. Edward in 1547 : that is, just before the publication of the Order of Communion so often spoken of. I quote from the original edition by Grafton. “In the tyme of the Letany, of the high Masse, of the Sermon, and when the priest readeth the scripture to the parishioners, no maner of persones, without a just and urgent cause, shall departe out of the Churche.” Without insisting upon any argument which may be deduced from the exception of “a just and urgent cause,” which supposing that the ancient discipline was restored would fully meet our present ease, I think that this order set forth in 1547 is of especial value, when compared with the corresponding injunction, the 18th of Queen Elizabeth’s in 1559. I again quote from an original edition of that year ; and I do this because Dr. Cardwell has said,³⁵ either carelessly or unfairly, that this is “the same as before ; except that *communion of the sacrament* is substituted for *high mass*, and the last sentence respecting *perambulation of parishes* is new ;” although, as the reader will see, there is another and most important variation. This Injunction says ; “In the tyme of the letanye, of the common prayer, of the sermon, and when the priest readeth the scripture to the parishioners, no maner of persons without a Juste and urgent cause shall use any walkyng in the church, ne shall departe out of the churche.” Here there is a total omission of all reference to the “Mass,” or “Holy Communion :” which cannot be set down as other than very significant ; for we know that those by whom these later Injunctions were

³⁵ Documentary Annals. vol. i. p. 186. Note. I cannot conceive that Dr. Cardwell had seen any copy of Elizabeth’s Injunctions, which agreed, according to his account, with K. Edward’s. Three

editions of the Injunctions of 1547, and seven of those of 1559, before the year 1601, are now lying before me : with which, moreover, his own *text* agrees.

drawn up, had the earlier ones of Edward before them ; with which, if they were at all adopted, they did not interfere, except for some especial purpose.

About the same time Dr. Guest writing to Sir William Cecil, concerning the new service book, that is, the Common Prayer of Q. Elizabeth, and "why the service is set forth in such sort as it is," explains among other points objected against, "the dividing the service of the Communion into two parts," and proves the correctness of what we are therefore forced to conclude was the practice intended to be observed, by the authority of Durant, S. Chrysostom, and Dionysius : viz: "That they only did remain which did receive."³⁶

To the like effect speaks Bp. Jewell in his apology, upon the subject of the Eucharist. "Ad hoc epulum invitandum esse populum, ut omnes inter se communient, et societatem suam inter se, spemque eam, quam habent in Christo Jesu, publice significant, et testificentur. Itaque si quis fuisset, qui spectator tantum esse velit, et a sacra communione abstineret, illum veteres patres, et Romanos episcopos in primitiva Ecclesia, antequam nata esset privata missa, tanquam improbum atque ethnicum excommunicasse."³⁷

Archbishop Parker, among other directions to be observed at his Visitation, ordered : "Item, these things being done, the preacher to proceed to the sermon, which being done, all the extern laity to be commanded out by the beadle."³⁸ Again, the following rubric is of no little weight, if we remember that it is in the Form

³⁶ *Cardwell*: Hist. of Conferences. p. 51.

³⁷ *Enchiridion Theologicum. Randolph.* vol. i. p. 217. The same is to be seen repeated in the *Harmony of Confessions*, published in 1586. p. 425 : which, although very far from being an authority,

is still to be considered as a witness of facts.

³⁸ *Strype. Parker.* p. 303. Cited by a writer in the *English Churchman.* (March 12, 1846.) The same also quotes a passage from the *Life of Bp. Bedell*, p. 54. "As I was at the Lord's table beginning

of the consecration of a church drawn up and used by Bishop Andrews. “ Finitis precationibus istis Dominus Episcopus sedem separatim capessit, (ubi prius) populusque universus non communicaturus dimititur, et porta clauditur.”³⁹

It is necessary that I should notice what at first sight has seemed a strong proof that in the reign of Elizabeth, notwithstanding the exhortation of the Common Prayer Book, and the authorities above quoted, the non-communicants nevertheless did remain, during the entire service. The place is in the Reply of Thomas Cartwright to the answer of Whitgift against the famous Admonition : he is speaking of wafer-bread. “ I haue spoken” he says “ of thys bread before in generall, and if Maister Doctor dyd not disagree wyth hymselfe, we are heere well agreed. For first he sayth it skilleth not what bread we haue, and by and by he sayth, that he wysheth it were common bread, and assigneth a great cause which the booke of service lykewise assigneth, which is to avoyde superstition. And it is certaynely known by experience, that in dyvers places the ignoraunt people that haue beene mysled in popery, have knocked and kneled unto it, and helde vp theyr handes, whylest the mynister hath geuen it, not those only which have receyued it, but those which have been in the churche, and looked on. I speake of that whiche I knowe, and haue sene wthy my eyes.”⁴⁰ This passage is extracted

the service of the Communion before the sermon he came in, and after the sermon was done, those that communicated not being departed, &c.” It has been asserted that the exclusion of the “ extern laity,” refers not to a communion, but to the Archbishop’s Charge : but this is incapable of proof, and what then means “ extern”?

³⁹ It is not at all beside the mark

to add, that in our own time, the order of the consecration of the church of S. Mary, Lambeth, has this rubric : “ The Sermon being ended, and all who do not receive the Holy Communion having left the Church, and the Doors shut, the Bishop proceeds to the Communion Service.”

⁴⁰ P. 164. b. From a copy of this rare tract in my possession.

in the *Hierurgia Anglicana*, p. 104 : and the learned editors of that useful publication, do not, I must observe, exhibit their usual judgment in a note which they subjoin. “Here” we are told “is an incidental proof that the Holy Eucharist was then celebrated in the presence of the congregation, non-communicants as well as communicants, as in other parts of the western Church at and since the great schism. The present custom of excluding non-communicants from witnessing the commemorative sacrifice, is an innovation, unsanctioned alike by rubrick and canon.” These are somewhat bold conclusions to arrive at upon the faith of one evidence : and to say nothing of the rapid decision, that a return, even though it were in our own days, to primitive practice was an innovation, it certainly would have been as well if the editors had also told us, since we are to believe this innovation is later than Elizabeth’s reign, when it did begin or established itself.

But as I own this to be if not the only authority,⁴¹ at least an apparently strong one, brought forward by those who advocate the continued stay of non-communicants, it must be examined. Now, to pass by the question of

⁴¹ Two arguments have certainly been adduced in favour of non-communicants : but really they scarcely seem to be worthy consideration. One is, that the Church of England considers every person to be a communicant, (which in a sense is true,) who communicates, at the required times during the year, according to the rubric. But in the first place this rubric cannot be understood to enforce the communion of parishioners, living in sin, or under penance ; and in the next, it does not say one word about them, on those occasions when from any just or urgent cause,

they do not communicate. The other argument is, that the Church does by courtesy (a strange courtesy it would have been thought of old) admit the presence of non-communicants, because, “at Coronations the Sovereign receives the Sacrament in presence of her subjects, not one of whom is permitted to communicate, except the officiating Bishops and the dean of Westminster.” Strictly, the Order of the Coronation, as used at present, is said not to be an authorized Formulary of the Church of England : but, waiving this, (and it cannot be denied very high authority) there

who Cartwright was, and that he would not be unlikely to strain facts, there is not the slightest reason to suppose that he is alluding to communions at that time, about 1572, in the Church of England. He is arguing against the allowance of wafer-bread: and remembering, as he well could, the performance of the Divine Service during Q. Mary's reign, and probably in King Henry's, he reasons from the superstitious gestures then made by the common people: and I somewhat wonder that the editors of the *Hierurgia*, have in their extract left out the words “that have been mysled in popery.” So that even if this was all the information which Cartwright furnishes, he leaves the question exactly where it was before.

But I think he gives unanswerable witness upon the other side, in proof that it was *not* then the custom to celebrate the Holy Eucharist in the presence of non-communicants. He says, a few pages before: “Nowe remayneth to be spoken of the number of communicants, and that there is fault in the appoynting of the service booke, not only for that it admitteth in the tyme of plague, that one with y^e mynister may celebrate the supper of the Lord in the house, but for that it ordayneth a communion in the church, when of a great number which assemble there, it admitteth three or fower.—The departing therefore of the rest of the church from those three or fower, is an open profession that they have no communion nor unitie with them, that doe communicate.” And presently afterwards, as if to set at rest what he means by *departing*, we read: “So that it must needes folow, that the not receiuing of those whych de-

are ample reasons why on such an occasion, some relaxation should be allowed of the general rule: omitting all mention of the impossibility of distributing the elements

to every one, or of permitting them to be distributed. It certainly, in short, is not a case from which fairly any argument can be brought.

part out of the church, when there is any communion celebrated, proceedeth either of vaine and superstitious feare, growing of grose ignorance of themselves, and of the holy sacramentes: or else of an intollerable negligence, or rather contempt, &c.”⁴²

Possibly my own opinion expressed above, of the celebrated Puritan, as to his dealing with facts, may be thrown back upon me; and it may be said, he misrepresents matters, or did not know what was the custom observed in churches which he was very careful not to enter. But he had an acute adversary, who would not overlook, neither has he, any such mistakes. And what does Whitgift say in his *Defense of the Answere to the Admonition*? “The booke of common prayer doth greatly commend, and like the receyving of the whole church togither, but if that cannot be obteyned (as it cannot, and they will not have men compelled unto it) it secludeth not those that be well disposed: so they be a competent number. And the booke doth exhort those to depart which do not communicate, with a warning from whence they departe, so that you may well understande, that the meaning of the booke is, that all that be present should communicate.”⁴³

Without longer delaying upon the subject, I would upon these grounds conclude, that non-communicants ought not to be allowed to remain during the entire service. It is acknowledged upon all sides that for the first five centuries such was the rule of the Catholic Church, and the best ritualists agree moreover in extending this time to the end of the seventh: and I have cited a passage from Amalarius in the ninth, (with some remarkable

⁴² *P.* 147. 150. b. Cartwright is attempting to prove, upon a text as it were from the *Admonition*, “private Communion,” that the

Church of England still suffered it, and private Mass.

⁴³ *P.* 530.

observations of Durand and Biel long after,) asserting its continuance : it has been shewn that the rubrics and phrases of the Prayer-Books of Edw. and Elizabeth do not suppose the continued presence of all persons, without distinction, in the church ; but, on the other hand, urge the departure, at some time, of those who are not about to communicate : and such has been proved to have been the actual practice of the Church of England in the early part of Queen Elizabeth's reign ; since which time no one, I believe, pretends that there has been any general change, or even an attempt at it, until our own day.

But, it is not to be concealed, a difficulty is instantly suggested, and a very practical one, viz: when are the non-communicants to depart? This is a question which I cannot now discuss so fully as it deserves, and which I am certainly not entitled accurately to decide. On those occasions when an Office is performed, for which we have no name,⁴⁴ consisting of some collects, a lesson, the Epistle and the Gospel of the day, the Nicene creed, and perhaps a sermon with other additions ; an Office which, whatever it may be called, is not an imitation of a communion service, is not, as I have said in another part of this volume, a *Missa sicca* ; at that Office there is no reason why all, who may be present at

⁴⁴ Within some twenty years after the review of the Common Prayer Book, people knew not what name to give this Office, now so very commonly said in our Church. Thus the authors of the famous *Admonition to the Parliament* call it a "halfe-communion, whiche is yet appoynted like to the commemoration of the Masse :" (sign. B. ij. v.) but Archbischop Whitgiff will not, and rightly, allow this to be the name of it, in his *Answeare to the*

Admonition, though he does not tell us what we are to call it. "I knowe not" he says, "what you meane by the *halfe-communion*, I find no such word in the Communion booke :—if you meane the scriptures and prayers appointed to be read when there is no Communion, then do you uniuersally liken them to the *commemoration of the Masse*, being most fruitful scriptures and godly prayers." *P.* 183. and *Defense of the answere*, p. 737.

the beginning, should not remain throughout. But when we intend to celebrate the Divine Service of the Holy Eucharist, non-communicants should depart before the Offertory. I do not mean to say that it is absolutely necessary that always when the Offertory is said, offerings and alms of the people should be collected ; but these must be collected, if at all, at that time : an ancient custom which the Church of England has most laudably revived, and (we may say) constantly observes. Upon such a point it would be waste of time to accumulate authorities : I may adopt, however the words of a very learned writer, who speaking *de offertorio*, says : “ *Hic olim missa incipiebat, cætera enim quæ ante ponebantur, scilicet orationes et instructiones, habebant rationem præparationis ad sacrificium : unde illis interesse poterant catechumeni, et peccatores pœnitentes. Ast ad offertorium missa catechumenorum terminabatur, et incipiebat missa fidelium ; quare tunc ejctis catechumenis et pœnitentibus, soli fideles illi adesse poterant.* ”⁴⁵ Hence, whilst in the case of that Office which pretends not to proceed to a communion the continued presence of the entire congregation may be not only unobjectionable, but quite in accordance with the rubrics, I cannot but regret that the same judgment as to what ought to be observed has been extended to the service of the Holy

We readily agree with the excellent Archbishop in his last assertion. The reader may see below, in the “Additional Note” *p. 149*, some remarks upon the Missa Sicca, which at least our present Office “ when there is no communion,” is not.

⁴⁵ *Romseè. Opera. tom. iv. p. 140.* I am aware it may be said that anciently non-communicants were not allowed to be present at the recital of the Creed ; which is true : but as the circumstances of

the Church now are, there do not exist the same grounds for pressing this, as in the case of the Offertory. To depart at some time or other they ought, but the principle which rules the one, has not the same force in the other : in the primitive church they heard and repeated not the creed, for totally different reasons from those which prevented their taking a part in the oblations : these reasons have ceased as regards the first, but not the second.

Communion: nor do I hesitate to say, that a general return to the old practice of non-communicants leaving after the sermon on communion days, even though at other times we ended, also as of old, with the sermon, would be far better, than a general introduction of what has been attempted by some, and insisted on against the will or wishes of the people by others, namely, not dismissing the congregation or any part of it until the offertory has been said. If it should hereafter seem good to the rulers of the Church to revise the Common Prayer Book, an undertaking more perhaps to be dreaded on account of the numberless alterations that the clamour of a thousand tongues would suggest, than to be desired because of some doubtful rubrics which might be cleared up, it can scarcely be supposed but that they would consider this question of non-communicants: and, to say the least, there would be no light grounds to fix for the time of their departure, the conclusion of the sermon.

With one remark more, I shall return to my proper subject. Those who wish the non-communicants to remain throughout, scarcely explain their reasons; they declare their departing to be an innovation, which is a misconception; and tell us that it would encrease the number of communicants, which is not only extremely doubtful, but unless such encrease be based upon good grounds, not desirable. I cannot think that any member of the church of England would say, that if a person is not fit or willing to communicate, he can obtain any more benefit by looking on during the whole service than if he leaves the church at a proper time. It is true that the church of Rome urges the people to be present, though they do not intend to receive the Eucharist: it insists in fact upon their doing so, believing that a beneficial effect is wrought *ex opere operato* in those, who hear mass with devotion: but not to say that there is not a trace of such a doctrine in the records of the first ages of the Christian Church, what do they mean by de-

votion? we are told, "If one have capacity and commodity, he should attend to all such passages, as the priest speaketh out plain; for the rest, he should have his private devotions, which be so much the better, if they be accommodated to the course of the mass: but if not, no great matter, as long as one's devotion doth recall itself by a particular attention, at the chief mysteries of mass, which are the consecration, and the consummation, which is done when the priest receiveth."⁴⁶

Is this the kind of devotion which is to be desired also among the members of our own Church? and does it lead to a due reverence of the Sacrament itself? Let us hear another author, of the Roman church. "Many who go under the notion of Catholics, do in a luke-warm manner hear mass, rather for fashion or custom sake, or in exterior shew, contenting themselves with a corporal presence, and little or no application of the mind; nay some do it with contempt, derision, and at least culpable negligence."⁴⁷ And such I venture to assert, would be some among the evils which would follow the introduction of such a custom, as the non-communicants remaining, once more among ourselves. Far from returning to a practice, recommended by the primitive Christians, we should have, in direct opposition to them, only the example of the middle ages: we should not find a better knowledge among our people, than may now be gained, of the doctrines which are involved in the celebration of the holy Eucharist, of the blessings which it conveys, of their duties and responsibilities as baptised members of the Church of Christ: we should not see reverence towards it encreased, nor do I believe that more communicants would press forward to the Altar.

⁴⁶ Declaration of the principal points, &c. p. 578. cited above. Note.

⁴⁷ Liturgical Discourse of the Mass. *Pref.* p. 18.

CHAPTER VI.

GE must now return to the Order of Communion put forth in 1548. This was not published without some notice, not only as we have already seen, that other order should be soon provided, but also of an intended uniformity of service in the church of England, and that the ancient Uses were no longer to be allowed. The letter which I have mentioned before directs the Bishops to cause copies of this new book to be delivered as soon as might be to every parson, vicar, and curate, and “that this order is set forth to the intent there should be in all parts of the realm, and among all men, one uniform manner quietly used.”⁴⁸

The clergy in general did not obey and use this Form: nor perhaps was it either expected that they would, or much pains taken to enforce it.⁴⁹ Within a few months

⁴⁸ Documentary Annals. *vol. i.* p. 62. *Wilkins. Concilia. tom. iv.* p. 32.

⁴⁹ “Notwithstanding the difference of opinions, the new Communion-book was received over England, without any opposition. Thus Bishop Burnet. But Heylin reports the matter somewhat differently: he acquaints us the bishops were not equally disposed to a compliance: that Gardiner of Winchester, Bonner of London, Veyesie of Exeter, and Sampson of Coventry and Lichfield were more backward than the rest: that many of the parochial clergy were no less dis-

inclined to the order: &c.” *Collier. Ecc. History. vol. ii.* p. 248. It may be said, that even Heylin’s account scarcely comes up to the assertion in the text: but I do not doubt its correctness, upon the evidence which still exists about this famous Order, independently of the short time it was in use, the difficulty of so suddenly enforcing in remote parts of the country such great changes as it involved, and the little real authority upon which it rested. However, the reader can examine, if he thinks it worth while, Burnet’s statement. *Vol. iii.* p. 139.

not only it, but all the old liturgies were suppressed, and a new Order published in what is called the first Common Prayer Book of King Edward VI. entitled, “ *The Supper of the Lord and the Holy Communion, commonly called the Mass.*” I have reprinted the liturgy of 1549 in the present volume after the Clementine:⁵⁰ and the reader will see that so long as it was authorized, the rites and prayers which have always been held to be essential, and which had been religiously observed, since her earliest existence, in the English Church, are plainly and fully set down and required. The Act of Uniformity declares that the Book had been completed “ by the aid of the Holy Ghost,⁵¹ with one uniform agreement,” i. e. of the compilers; and about a year after, another statute speaks of it in scarcely lower terms of praise, beginning, “ Where the Kinges most excellent Maiestic hath of late set fourth and established by auctoritie of Parliament, an uniforme ordre of common and open praier—agreeable to thordre of the primatiue churche, muche more comfortable unto his louing subiectes, then other diuersitie of Service as heretofore of long time hath been used, being in the saied boke ordeined nothing to bee read, but *the very pure word of God*, or whiche is euidentlie grounded vpon the same.”⁵²

⁵⁰ It may appear an useless addition; because there are already so many reprints: for example, within the last few years, by Dr. Cardwell, and by Mr. Keeling. But these are parallel arrangements, not easily to be read throughout: and perhaps a better reason is, that those books may not happen to be at hand, and if they are, many readers will not take the trouble to refer to them.

⁵¹ It has been remarked, that “ although the Parliament judged,

and rightly perhaps judged, that the Holy Ghost assisted the Bishops and Divines who composed the First Book of Edward, yet we do not find that Bucer, or Peter Martyr, or Archbishop Cranmer, pretended to any aid of the Holy Ghost in the *alterations* which they made afterwards.”

⁵² Grafton’s Edit. of the Statutes of Edward VI. Fol. Lond. 1553. The Act is the 3rd and 4th Edw. VI. cap. x. entitled: “ An Acte for the abolishing and putting awaie of

Those, however, were not days when men would rest satisfied with merely cutting off superfluous branches, or feared to venture upon healthy limbs, nay even upon the trunk itself. It was emphatically a time of changes. During the few short years, or rather months, of the continuance of the first Book of Edward, foreign influence was actively at work, hourly encreasing in pertinacious opposition to catholic antiquity, until its successful efforts became unhappily apparent in the remodelled Common Prayer Book of 1552.⁵³ The new sects at Geneva and other places earnestly desired to bring down the Church of England to the level not only of their heretical platform of discipline, but of ritual. And it must be acknowledged that their interference was not altogether unasked: because at the recommendation of some individual in authority, the Book of 1549 had been translated into Latin, for the express purpose of obtaining the opinions of their leading men upon it.⁵⁴

diuers booke, and Images."

Upon Merbecke's book which preceded the publication of the 2nd Book of K. Edw. little need be said: nor do I know how far it was to be called an adaptation of the old chaunts, or a new arrangement and composition of his own. *Gerbert* says; "Medio item saeculo xvi. Jo. Markeek ad librum precum, seu cantionum publicarum modulos fecit." *De Cantu. tom. ii. p. 333.* In the dissertation on Service Books, the reader will find an extract from an ancient parish register, about Merbecke's publication, very curious as regards the date of the entry. *Monumenta Ritualia. vol. i. p. xxi. Note 32.*

⁵³ I cannot but remind the reader of the fact, one to which I shall

again have occasion briefly to refer, that this Second Book was never authorized by the church of England. Dr. Cardwell acknowledges this; speaking of the convocation, and the disrespect with which the advisers of K. Edward treated it, in the latter part of his reign, he says: "It was not permitted to pass its judgment on the second Service Book put forth by authority of parliament in the reign of King Edward VI., and for this plain reason, that it would have thrown all possible difficulties in the way of its publication." *Synodalia. vol. i. Pref. p. x.*

⁵⁴ This is a fact generally known; Bishop Burnet tells us, in his account of the First Book, "So now a review was set about. Martin

Still, in spite of all, though inverted in order, and more than half-obscured, the essentials of a valid consecration are to be found in the liturgy of 1552: much more then after the improvements, few though they may be, which from time to time have been made in it, by the Bishops in the reigns of Elizabeth, and James, and Charles, struggling to retrace their steps, and free the church of which they were the overseers, from the per-

Bucer was consulted in it; and Alesse, the Scotch divine, translated it into Latin for his use." The book is very uncommon: the title is, from a copy in my possession, "*Ordinatio Ecclesiae, seu ministerii Ecclesiastici, in florentissimo regno Angliae, conscripta sermone patrio, et in Latinam linguan bona fide conversa, et ad consolationem Ecclesiarum Christi, ubi cunque locorum ac gentium, his tristissimis temporibus. Edita ab Alexandro Alesio Scoto Sacrae Theologie Doctore. Lipsiae. M.D.LI.*" 4to. But it is not also known, (at least I have never observed it mentioned, or any notice taken of the book,) that the *Order of Communion* of 1548 was also translated, and from the initials A. A. S. D. Th. at the end, probably by Alesius. I have a copy, of which the title is, "*Ordo distributionis sacramenti altaris sub utraque specie, et formula confessionis faciendae in regno Angliae. Hæc Londini evulgata sunt octavo die Martii, Anni M.D.XLVIII.*" At the end is a short admonition, "*Pio lectori*" in which the translator declares the great blessings which England enjoyed under Ed-

ward in the pure observance of Christianity, and excuses the title which the King claimed of Head of the Church.

But it is not of little importance, and shews the way in which matters were managed by the extreme party of reformers at that time, that "the Scotch Divine" has in many places most unfairly translated the English books. For example, from this last, the *Order of Communion*: "When he doth deliver the sacrament of the body of Christ, he shall say to every one these words following;" "Et cum exhibet Sacramentum corporis, utatur hac forma orationis." So, with the cup. "Et cum porrigit Sacramentum sanguinis, sic orabit :" of which the English rubric is, "And the Priest delivering the Sacrament of the blood, and giving every one to drink once, and no more, shall say." Again. "And every of the said consecrated breads shall be broken in two pieces at the least, or more, by the discretion of the minister, and so distributed." "Et quælibet hostia consecrata frangetur in duas aut tres partes, juxta institutionem Christi, accepit, et fregit, ac distribuit."

plexities into which it had been plunged by the followers of Calvin and Zwingle.⁵⁵

I would not be understood as desirous to speak ill of the reformers of our Church. There are at present two parties who hold very different opinions of their merits: the extreme of the one would exalt them to the standard of the great fathers of the Catholic Church, of the saints and martyrs; the extreme of the other would depress them to the class of rash innovators, and speak of them in terms which may indeed be used of Peter Martyr, or Calvin, or Bucer. Rather let us on the one hand give what praise and honour may be justly due to their early exertions in the cause of truth, to which we owe our freedom from numerous errors and abuses which still overrun a large portion of the Church: let us upon the other disavow the lengths to which they were at last driven, not so much by the principle within, as by the pressure from without. Above all, let us remember that the Church of England has refused to ratify by her consent very many of the doctrines which have been attributed to her, by men who look upon the exiles at Frankfort, or upon Cranmer and Hooper and Latimer, and their decisions and indecisions, as her own, and as Herself.

⁵⁵ In a remarkable letter to Bishop Skinner, in 1806, Bishop Horsley has said: "The alterations which were made in the communion service, as it stood in the first Book of Edward VI. to humour the Calvinists, were, in my opinion, much for the worse. Nevertheless I think our present Office is very good: our form of consecration of the elements is sufficient; I mean, that the elements are consecrated by it, and made the Body and Blood of Christ, in the sense

in which our Lord Himself said the bread and wine were His Body and Blood." *Office of the Scotch Church.* p. 157. Let us remember also the opinion of Archbishop Sharp, of York. "Though he admired the Communion Office as it now stands, yet, in his own private judgment, he preferred that in King Edward's first service book before it, as a more proper office for the celebration of those mysteries." *Works.* vol. vi. p. 355.

It is *not* a matter of comparatively little importance according to what rite the Eucharist is celebrated. For example, even if we allowed that the establishment called the kirk of Scotland, or the Wesleyan methodists, or Brownists, or any other schismatical sect are still in some way not out of the Church, yet it would by no means follow, that they either possess the power, or in fact do rightly consecrate the sacred elements and receive the blessings of communion. Again, that a priest duly authorized and ordained by a Bishop of the Catholic Church should be the minister, is not the only thing essential to a valid administration. Our Blessed Lord, the great High Priest, blessed the elements of bread and wine, and gave thanks, and said, “This is My Body :” “This is My Blood.” Even if it were a proved truth, which it is not, that He left no exact Form (I do not mean to be then committed to writing, but the method and the chief particulars) how the holy Eucharist is to be consecrated, it would not therefore follow that all Forms are indifferent. It may be allowed to be a ruled point, among theologians who deserve the name, that there must be, not only the instituted Matter, but the proper Form : and although different churches may lawfully use different words, although they may lawfully observe some one order of the Rites, some another, yet there must be certain things either expressed or necessarily implied, without which the Form would be deficient.

The Holy Apostles, it is not to be doubted, imitated so far as they could the example of our Lord, and obeyed His instructions : they therefore, and after them the various Churches which they founded, observed in the administration of the Eucharist certain rites, which they held to be essential : and the varieties which exist in the primitive liturgies prove by the extent to which they reach, their full agreement in substance. Hence it becomes a question of deep importance, whether the service used in the Church of which we are members pre-

serves this necessary agreement: and it is a part of our duty to enquire, whether the Communion of the Body and Blood of our Blessed Lord be rightly and duly administered, even as we are bound to try and examine ourselves before we presume to eat of that Bread and drink of that Cup.

The church of Rome has declared her belief that the consecration of the elements is entirely conveyed by the utterance of these words "This is my Body:" "This is my Blood." Cardinal Bona is express upon this point;⁵⁶ and relies also upon the admissions made by certain Greeks, who attended the council of Florence, in 1439, which admissions however ought not to be pressed against the received doctrine of the Greek church, which rather attributes greater efficacy to the Invocation and Prayers.⁵⁷ When therefore we find a general consent and testimony among the fathers, that the Holy Eucharist is consecrated by the repetition of the words of Institution and by prayer, we are to understand (the Roman doctors tell us) that such statements merely mean, that prayers precede and follow the words.⁵⁸ But, in short, to adopt the determination of Pope Benedict the XIVth. following Tournely and Bessarion, "nuda et præcisa forma consecrationis consistat in Christi verbis, *Hoc est Corpus meum*; *hic est Calix sanguinis mei*; omnibus ab ea forma precibus exclusis, tum quæ præcedunt, tum quæ sequuntur."⁵⁹

⁵⁶ Rerum. Liturg. lib. ii. cap. xiiij.

⁵⁷ Examine also the exact statement made by them, *Collatio 22.* Cone. Labbe et Cossart. tom. xiii. 1163.

⁵⁸ Sala's additions to Bona. tom. iii. p. 301.

⁵⁹ Opera. tom. ix. p. 164. *Angelo Rocca* incidentally speaks in

terms no less strong: "Ex vi verborum, panis in verum Christi corpus miraculose transubstantiatur." Opera. tom. i. p. 111. See also *Thomas Waldensis. de Sacramentis.* cap. xxix: and *Bellarmin. de Sacram. Euch.* iv. 13.

Catalani, although of course he could not venture to oppose the decided judgment of the Church of

It will be observed that these sentences, (the “*verba consecrationis*” of the Roman missal,) are not exactly as they are to be pronounced in the Canon: the conjunction *enim* being omitted in both. But this is not an inadvertent omission. “*Forma enim verborum*” says Lyndwood “*quoad corpus est talis: Hoc est enim corpus meum: haec tamen conjunctio enim non est de substantia formæ, sed de bene esse, unde non debet omitti. Aliud namque est forma necessaria, sine qua non potest fieri transubstantiatio: et aliud est forma debita, sine qua non potest (al. debet) fieri.*”⁶⁰ This assertion of the

Rome, as given above, yet allows the almost necessity also of prayer in addition to the bare recital of the Words: “*Licet*” he says “*certo certius teneat Ecclesia, solis Christi verbis hoc mysterium posse confici; horret tamen animus, mens titubat, affectus refugit, sine precibus, aut hostiam consecrare, aut hoc irreligioso more consecratam recipere.*”—“*Secundo, cum ad consecrationem absolvendam duo concurrent principia effectiva Christus et homo, convenit utrumque in tam sublimi, tam difficulti, tam mirando opere edendo, non tam virtutem suam exercere, conjungere actionem, sed et agendi rationem status sui conditioni congruentem prodere et manifestare: Christus autem ut Deus omnipotens, imperio, vel saltem verbo, opus illud producendum aggreditur; homo velut ejus minister, et ad agendum concurrens, licet ab eo dependeat, virtutemque omnem ab eo, seu subjectum instrumentum mutuetur; in ejus Persona loquitur, verba ejus usurpat, præcipuam ejus potestatem, et velut auctoritatem arrogat; quidni tandem*

sui status memor, suæ debilitatis conscientius, et infirmitatis reus, quod non nisi precibus quantum in se est, posset obtinere, precibus quoque exposeat, et quod jam effectum vires suas superare agnoscit, velut efficiendum desideriis, votis, obsecratio-
nibus comparare molliatur?” *Historia. Conc. Florent. Concilia. OEc. tom. iv. p. 258.* This very learned writer is speaking upon the fact of the general consent of all the early liturgies in the use of prayer and invocation; and as he was not able to deny it, he thus attempts to explain it away. See also *Goar*, in his notes to the Liturgy of S. Chrysostom, whom Catalani follows.

⁶⁰ *Lib. iii. tit. 23. Ad excitandos. verb. Consecratione.* Compare also *Bellarmin*, arguing on this point. “*Secundo dicit, sola Christi verba debere pronunciari; ex quo arguit Catholicos, quod quædam addiderint, ut ex canone missæ perspicuum est. Sed in hoc etiam fallitur, aut mentitur. Nam verba omnia quæ dicimus, Christi sunt, licet non ex eodem loco ha-*

canonist explains somewhat his gloss on another constitution: although in neither place does he exactly lay down the rule agreed upon in later times by the church of Rome; for the question is not what amount of power, if I may so speak, is attached to the words of Institution, but whether the sole repetition of them is all-sufficient. So to proceed: Lyndwood there says; “*Canon missæ vere dicitur regula illa, per quam Eucharistia consecratur: hoc est, illorum verborum per quæ panis in corpus, et vinum in sanguinem transubstantiantur.*”⁶¹

Not that I think it can be denied, that Lyndwood’s meaning may be extended as far as the above quotation from Benedict the XIVth. Because not only does he soon after, on the same constitution, make a distinction between the Canon “i.e. sacramentalium verborum,” and the Canon, “i.e. omnium quæ sequuntur præfationem usque ad orationem dominicam;” but, not to mention other statutes, it had been thus laid down in the 13th century, by a synod of Exeter, in terms which possibly might be explained away, though scarcely with fairness: “*Per hæc verba, Hoc est enim corpus meum, et non per alia, panis transubstantiatur in corpus.*” And this same canon proceeds to order, “*prius hostiam non levet sacerdos, donec ipsa plene protulerit verba, ne pro*

beantur; et præterea verba illa, quæ adduntur, ut, enim, in forma consecrationis corporis, et, mysterium fidei, in forma consecrationis sanguinis, non putamus ad essentiam formæ pertinere.” *Opera. tom. iii. p. 331. De Sacr. Euch. lib. iv. cap. 12.*

⁶¹ *Lib. i. tit. 10. Ut archidiaconi. verb. Canon missæ.* Lyndwood in the same note gives six reasons (I may add) why the Canon should be said *secreto*: “*Prima est, quia Deus cordis, non vocis, cla-*

morem attendit. Secunda est, ne sacerdos in longo clamore deficiat. Tertia est, ne impediatur populus orare. Quarta est, ne verba tanti mysterii quotidiano usu vilescent. Quinta est, quia hæc ad solum sacerdotem pertinent. Sexta est, ne verba Canonis sæpius auditæ discentur a laicis, et locis incongruis recitentur.” Such reasons can have but little weight, against the practice of the first thousand years of the Church. See also, below, *Note 3. p. 79.*

creatore creatura a populo veneretur.”⁶² Still it is not to be forgotten that the ancient English Uses do not contain such a rubric, as does the modern Roman missal, viz. immediately succeeding the pronouncing of the Words ; “statim hostiam consecratam genuflexus adorat.”

There seems to be no need whatever to accumulate evidence either to prove or to disprove the fact, of the expressed decisions of the church of England having reached to such an extent as the later decrees of the church of Rome : let it be allowed that for some two or three centuries her canons may be so interpreted, although not necessarily so. Errors and abuses had been gradually creeping into the English, as well as into other branches of the Church of Christ ; and far more important is it to ascertain, on such a point, the doctrine of the primitive fathers and liturgies, than of councils and canonists of the middle ages.

To limit the effect of the recital of the Words “ This is My Body ; ” “ This is My Blood ; ” to say how far they reach, and where they stop, in the consummation of the Eucharist ; and how little is the consequence of the pronunciation of them,⁶³ no prayers having preceded,

⁶² *Wilkins. Concilia. tom. ii. p. 132.*

⁶³ Is it possible, on the other hand, (although some writers of no small authority have gravely cited it,) that any person can believe the legend told by the author of the *Gemma Animæ*? He is bringing arguments against the audible saying of the Canon. “Feratur, dum canon primitus publice quotidie recitaretur, ab omnibus per usum sciretur, et cum eum pastores in agro super panem et vinum dicere, repente carnem et sanguinem ante se invenirent, at-

que inde dirinitus percussi interirent.” Cap. 103. *Bibl. Patrum. Auct. tom. i. p. 1210.* The italics are in that edition.

And from what *Zaccaria* says, *Bibl. Ritualis, tom. iii. p. cxvj.* the shepherds spoke only the words of consecration, “verba consecrationis,” as they are limited by the Church of Rome. He says, that once he did not give credit to this story : but having seen it in other writers than the author of the “Gemma,” he since supposes it to have been true. The other authors to whom *Zaccaria* alludes, are

and none following, is not within my purpose, nor should I dare to attempt it. That joined with the other essential rites, which without exception all the early liturgies contain, they are productive of the most mysterious effects is not for one instant to be doubted or denied.

Hear S. Chrysostom : “Σχημα πληρων ἐστικεν ὁ ἵερευς, τα
ρηματα φθεγγομενος εκεινα · ἥ δε δυναμις και ἡ χαρις του Θεου
εστι. Τουτο μου εστι το σωμα, φησι. Τουτο το ρημα μεταρρυθ-
μιζει τα προκειμενα.”⁶⁴ And S. Augustine : “Dixi vobis,
quod ante verba Christi quod offertur, panis dicitur, ubi
verba Christi deprompta fuerint, jam non panis dicitur,
sed corpus appellatur.”⁶⁵ So again, S. Ambrose : “Ante
benedictionem verborum cœlestium alia species nomi-
natur, post consecrationem corpus significatur. Ipse
dicit sanguinem suum. Ante consecrationem aliud di-
citur, post consecrationem sanguis nuncupatur.”⁶⁶ It may
be argued that by “consecratio” in this place S. Am-
brose means the Service, not the mere and only repeti-
tion of the words. But again, the same Father declares :
“antequam consecretur, panis est; ubi autem verba
Christi accesserint, corpus est Christi.—Ante verba
Christi, calix est vini et aquæ plenus : ubi verba Christi
operata fuerint, ibi sanguis Christi efficitur.”⁶⁷ And,
once more, S. Irenæus : “Quando ergo et mixtus calix,
et factus panis percipit verbum Dei, et fit Eucharistia
sanguinis et corporis Christi,—quomodo carnem ne-
gant capacem esse donationis Dei ? etc.” And presently

Durand, Innocent, and Belethus ;
by each of whom the same tale is
related. *Becon*, in his Reliques of
Rome, has some curious remarks
upon this story : and not unfairly
argues, that those who believe it
must believe also “that any laye
man, if he can pronounce the words
of consecration, havyng bread lay-
ed upon a stone, may make Christes

body as wel as y^e priest.” *Edit.*
1563. *fol.* 129.

⁶⁴ *Hom. 1. De prodit. Judæ.*
Opera. tom. ii. p. 453.

⁶⁵ *Serm. xxvii. tom. 5.*

⁶⁶ *De Mysteriis. cap. ix. Opera.*
tom. ii. p. 340.

⁶⁷ *De Sacramentis. lib. iv. cap.*
5. Opera. tom. ii. p. 372.

afterwards in the same chapter, speaking of the bread and wine he says: “percipientia verbum Dei Eucharistia fiunt, quod est corpus et sanguis Christi.”⁶⁸

But neither these nor any of the fathers, give any testimony which declares that solely by the repetition of the words of Institution, the Eucharist is perfected. Irenæus, whose remarkable teaching I last quoted, himself in another place attributes the same effect to invocation of the Deity. “Quemadmodum enim qui est a terra panis, percipiens invocationem Dei, jam non communis panis est, sed Eucharistia, ex duabus rebus constans, terrena et coelesti: sic et corpora nostra percipientia Eucharistiam, jam non sunt corruptibilia, spem resurrectionis habentia.”⁶⁹ And before him S. Justin in his second apology declares that the Eucharist is consecrated “per preces.” This place of S. Justin Bellarmin,⁷⁰ who cites it, meets by saying that the holy apologist afterwards explains himself, and adds, that by these prayers he meant the words of Christ, “*This is my Body, This is My Blood.*” But it is not true that Justin Martyr adds those words, or at all mentions the institution of the sacrament from the Gospels, except to prove, that the Eucharistical bread and wine are the Body and Blood of the Lord; and he is very far from asserting that the words of Christ, are the prayers by which the Eucharist is consecrated: indeed, who without some appearance of absurdity, could say so?

Origen declares that “the Eucharist is sanctified by the word of God and by Prayer.”⁷¹ S. Cyril of Jeru-

⁶⁸ *Contra Hæres. lib. v. cap. 2.*
Opera. p. 294.

⁶⁹ *Ibid. lib. iv. cap. 18. Opera.*
p. 251. The reader will excuse, I doubt not, my having quoted the whole of such a sentence.

⁷⁰ *De Eucharistia. lib. iv. cap.*

⁷¹ *Tom. ii. p. 17.* The same Father asserts, writing against Celsius, that we “eat the sacrificial bread, which is by prayer made a holy Body, sanctifying those that make a righteous use of it.” *Book viii. p. 399.*

salem, that “the invocation being completed ($\varepsilon \pi \chi \lambda \eta \sigma \epsilon \omega \varsigma$ δε γενομένης) the bread is made the Body and the wine the Blood of Christ.”⁷² S. Gregory Nyssen, that “the Eucharist is sanctified by the word of God and prayer,” and at the end of the same chapter that “by the power of the Blessing, ($\tau \eta \tau \eta \varepsilon \upsilon \lambda \sigma \gamma \iota \alpha \varsigma \delta \nu \alpha \mu \epsilon \iota$) the nature of the holy symbols is changed.”⁷³ And, once more, S. Augustine: “Corpus Christi et sanguinem dicimus illud tantum, quod ex fructibus terræ acceptum et prece mystica consecratum rite sumimus ad salutem in memoriam Dominicæ pro nobis passionis.”⁷⁴

Nor are there wanting later writers of the highest authority, who speak to the same effect, up to the time when another and a new opinion was definitively settled by a synodical decree. Thus in the ninth century, Amalarius, includes more than the mere repetition of the Words, under the essentials of a valid consecration: “Cum satis esset sola benedictio Episcoporum aut presbyterorum, ad benedicendum panem et vinum, quo reficeretur populus ad animarum salutem.” He declares that the attendance of singers and readers and the observance of the usual solemnities, are not necessary, but the “sola benedictio.” Somewhat later, Rhabanus Maurus, explaining the term *Sacrificium*, as applied to the Eucharist, says: “Sacrificium dictum, quasi sacrum factum, quia prece mystica consecratur in memoriam Dominicæ passionis, unde hæc, eo jubente, in corpus Christi et sanguinem Domini, quod dum sit ex fructibus terræ,

⁷² *Catech. Mystag.* 1.

⁷³ *Orat. Catechet.* 37.

⁷⁴ *De Trinitate. lib. iii. cap. 4.*
The extracts which I have given above, are but a few out of many which, if I had thought it necessary, might easily have been added, from collections already made by writers

on this subject. But these are sufficient for my present purpose. If the reader would enquire further, he will find a large number of authorities from the Fathers, on this point, arranged chronologically in a posthumous tract of the very learned *Grabe*: “*De forma Consecrationis Eucharistiae.*” 1721.

sanctificatur, et fit sacramentum, operante invisibiliter spiritu Dei.”⁷⁵ And in his next chapter, the same author tells us: “Sicut corpus Christi aromatibus unctum in sepulchro novo per piorum officium condebatur, ita modo in Ecclesia mysticum corpus illius cum unguentis sacræ orationis conditum, in sacris vasis ad percipendum fidelibus per sacerdotum officium administratur.” And once more, even in the homilies read to the English people in the 15th century, we have this remarkable testimony: I quote, from the *Liber Festivalis*, a part of the sermon on Corpus Christi day: where we read, “All crysten peple that wyl be sauued, muste haue sad byleue in the holy sacramente, that is goddes owne body in fourme of brede, made by the vertue of crystes wordes that the prest sayth, and by workynge of the holy goste.”⁷⁶

If then we rely, as we are bound to do, not upon the unsupported assertions of late councils of the church of England, before she had freed herself from difficulties which were sure to follow in their course, her acceptance, though but for a short time, of so great an error as the doctrine of transubstantiation; but on the contrary, upon the consent of a thousand years of the Catholic Church, upon the united voice of the fathers of the first five centuries, and more than all upon the unvaried testimony of the primitive liturgies; we shall find that certain rites, at least three in number, were always observed in the consecration of the Holy Eucharist; and because we do so find them, we cannot be exceeding our due bounds, in supposing them to be essential. They may perhaps be more clearly expressed in one Form than in another: still, in some degree or other, if in such a case we may speak of degrees, they are most certainly in all. If

⁷⁵ De Instit. Clericorum. lib. i. cap. 32. 4to, n.d. in my possession. “Sad,” firm, settled. See *Monumenta Rit.* vol. ii. p. 29. Note 75.

⁷⁶ From an edition, by Pynson,

therefore, these rites are essential, there cannot be a valid consecration of the Eucharist according to any Form in which they are not to be found. As in the case of another sacrament, viz. that of Baptism, the blessings and privileges attached to it, are not (so far as we know) to be obtained, except there be an authorized Minister, and the proper Matter, and the proper Form.⁷⁷

These three rites are, the recital of the Words of Institution, the oblation of the Elements, and a prayer for the descent of the Holy Spirit, to make them in effect the Body and the Blood of Christ.⁷⁸ All these are in the old liturgy of the English church, according to the various Uses which were permitted before 1548: they are expressly and in clear words in K. Edward's first Book of 1549: less clearly but still in the second Book of 1552: and lastly, in our present Service.

I shall for the present pass by the consideration of our present liturgy, and that, so similar to it, of 1552: and as briefly as possible give the necessary extracts from the old English missals, and from the first Book of King Edward.

The *recital of the History and Words of Institution* is most plain in all of these. In the Salisbury, York, Hereford, and Bangor missals these words occupy a conspicuous place, often distinguished also by a variety in the type or writing. “Qui pridie quam pateretur, accepit panem in sanctas ac venerabiles manus suas, et elevatis oculis in cœlum, ad te Deum Patrem suum omnipotentem, tibi gratias agens, benedixit, fregit, deditque discipulis suis, dicens: Accipite et manducate ex hoc omnes. HOC EST ENIM CORPUS MEUM. Simili modo postquam cœnatum est, accipiens et hunc præclarum

⁷⁷ In saying an *authorized Minister*, I would avoid disputes upon the question of Lay-Baptism, administered in the Church, by her

declared permission.

⁷⁸ I omit for the present any mention of the ceremony of mixing water with the wine.

calicem in sanctas ac venerabiles manus suas : item tibi gratias agens, benedixit, deditque discipulis suis, dicens : Accipite, et bibite ex eo omnes. **HIC EST ENIM CALIX SANGUINIS MEI, NOVI ET AETERNI TESTAMENTI: MYSTERIUM FIDEI : QUI PRO VOBIS ET PRO MULTIS EFFUNDETUR IN REMISSIONEM PECCATORUM.** Hæc quotiescumque feceritis, in mei memoriam facietis."

In the first Book of Edward : "Who in the same nyghte that he was betrayed : tooke breade, and when he had blessed, and geuen thankes : he brake it, and gaue it to his disciples, sayinge : Take, eate, this is my bodye whiche is geuen for you, do this in remembraunce of me. Likewise after supper he toke the cuppe, and whē he had geuen thankes, he gaue it to them, saying : drink ye all of this, for this is my bloude of the newe Testament, whiche is shed for you and for many, for remission of sinnes : do this as oft as you shall drinke it, in remembraunce of me."

The Prayer for the descent of the Holy Spirit is by no means express in either of the ancient English Uses, or in the Roman ; still it is included in the following petition : and necessarily must be, if only by the operation of the Third Person in the Blessed Trinity, the sacred elements are indeed made the Body and the Blood of Christ. And who would deny this ? The old Missals and the Roman invoke the Holy Spirit therefore in the prayer : "Quam oblationem tu Deus in omnibus, quæsumus, benedictam, adscriptam, ratam, rationabilem, acceptabilemque facere digneris : ut nobis Corpus, et Sanguis fiat dilectissimi Filii tui Domini nostri Jesu Christi."⁷⁹

⁷⁹ Much more express, I would remark, is the invocation in the old Gallie liturgy used in the extreme west before the days of Charlemagne, and of S. Augustin of Can-

terbury. In the Office for the Epiphany we find a proper Preface with the prayer, "ut qui tunc aquas in vina mutavit; nunc in Sanguinem suum oblationum nostrarum vina

But in Edward's first Book the prayer is in plain words : " Heare us (o mercifull father) we beseche thee : and with thy holy spirite and worde vouchsafe to blesse and sanctifie these thy gyftes, and creatures of breade and wyne, that they maye be unto us the bodye and bloud of thy moste derely beloued sonne Jesus Christe."

The Oblation to the Almighty God of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ was in this form in the old English Uses, after declaring how mindful both priest and people were of the passion, resurrection, and ascension of the Son : " Offerimus præclaræ Majestati tuæ de tuis donis ac datis, hostiam puram, hostiam sanctam, hostiam immaculatam : panem sanctum vitæ æternæ, et calicem salutis perpetuæ."

In the first Book of Edward : " Wherefore, O Lorde and heauenly father, accordyng to the Institucyon of thy derely beloued sonne, our sauoure Jesu Christe, we thy humble servauntes doe celebrate, and make here before thy diuine Maiestie, with these thy holy giftes, the memoriall whiche thy sonne hath willed us to make : hauyng in remembraunce his blessed passion, mightie resurrection, and glorious ascension, entyerely desyringe thy faterly goodnes, mercifullly to accepte this our Sacrifice of prayse and thankes geuinge."

We know that of these services the more ancient were derived, by a constant succession, from the very highest antiquity, their source being no less than Apostolic :

convertat : et qui aliis saturitatem, meri potatione, concessit ; nos potationis suæ libamine, et Paracliti Spiritus infusione sanctificet. Per Dominum, &c." And again, upon the Feast of the Assumption, in the " *Post Mysterium*," " Descendat, Domine, in his sacrificiis tuae benedictionis coæternus et cooperator Paraclitus Spiritus : ut oblatio-

nem, quam tibi de tua terra fructificante porregimus, cœlesti permutatione, te sanctificante, sumamus. Ut translata fruge in Corpore, calice in Cruore, proficiat meritis, quod obtulimus pro delicatis. Praesta omnipotens Deus : qui vivis et regnas in sœcula." *Thomas. Codic. Sac.* 287. 293.

and of the latest it will be sufficient to remember how acknowledged and undenied at any time in the church of England is the excellence of the first Book of King Edward the sixth. I have already spoken of the assertion that it was compiled by the aid of the Holy Ghost, but more than this (the evidence of friends) is the testimony given by the Act itself by which it was superseded in 1552: this, whilst it enjoins the observance of another Form, expressly recognizes the excellence of the one which it abolished as being “a verye Godlye ordre, agreeable to the woerde of God, and the primative Churche;” and declares that it had been made (to use its own language) “fully perfect” to please too scrupulous & tender consciences: and to set at rest doubts which had arisen “rather by the curiositie of the minister and mistakers, *then of any other worthy cause.*”⁸⁰

⁸⁰ The Act for Uniformity. 5th and 6th Edw. VI. cap. I.

CHAPTER VII.

N all the Forms which we examined in the last chapter, it is evident that the essential rites which I have spoken of are to be found : to this fact let us add an extract from the Homily of the worthy receiving of the Sacrament : and it will indeed appear, as I have said, of no slight importance according to what Order we administer the Eucharist, and make the enquiry an anxious one, whether we do in the first place administer rightly and validly consecrate ; whether, secondly, we give due prominence to all, and have not obscured any, of the necessary particulars of the celebration of so great a Mystery. The Homily declares : “ Before all things, this we must be sure of especially, that this supper be in such wise done and ministered, as our Lord and Saviour did, and commanded to be done, as his holy Apostles used it, and the good fathers in the primitive church frequented it.”⁸¹

Now, of these two questions, the first is infinitely of the greatest consequence : if the liturgy of any Church has the essentials which the consecration of the Holy Eucharist requires, whether they be all expressed or implied, whether they be clear to every one’s comprehension, or somewhat hidden in obscurity of language, or in a deficiency of detail, nevertheless the consecration is complete, the Divine commands fulfilled, and the promised benefits conveyed. Hence, the second question is important rather in its bearing upon the general belief which is inculcated upon the members of the Church ; and there may be reasons, and just reasons, why at

⁸¹ Book of Homilies. *Edit.* Oxford. 1832. p. 404.

certain periods in the existence of any Church, it may become a matter almost of necessity, that certain great truths, which have been perverted and abused, should for a time be veiled from the common sight and hearing of the people. But they must not be denied: and it demands a most accurate judgment, in the rulers of a Church, not only to know the time when such a course of conduct is to be advised, but the limits beyond which it cannot be permitted to go: and Truth being in her very nature open, it is not without risk of spreading errors that any reserve can be allowed. If this is so, as it undoubtedly is, in other branches of religious teaching and practice, it is no less in the matter of liturgies and rituals: people are not a little influenced by their constant use, and they unconsciously adopt from them doctrines, as it may happen, of absolute necessity to be believed, or to be rejected.

If in what I am about to say, I may seem to speak too boldly upon subjects which, it is confessed, the Church of England in her liturgy does not plainly and openly lay before her children, the reader must remember, that not only the causes which once influenced her to be cautious and reserved may have passed away, but that fears of another kind, and contrary reasons may now recommend quite a different course: that one danger having been happily removed, the precautions which were once wisely taken against it, may in their turn become productive of injury to some: and that if it is impossible or even unnecessary that the Church herself should by another deliberate revision correct and meet this new difficulty, it surely is not a merely lawful thing that her servants and ministers should explain her meaning, and vindicate the purity of her faith, and the sufficiency of her practice.

It is not to be denied that there have been for many years most lax opinions prevalent with respect both to the nature of the Holy Eucharist, and to the blessings

which are to be obtained through its reception. In the Church these have been in some measure restrained by the existence of a liturgy, in which are to be found, in conformity with the early and later Canons, the essentials of a valid administration : but the extent to which these opinions have spread, where such restraint has been removed, and men have been suffered to follow whither they would their foolish judgment, is fearfully apparent in the irreverent and impious celebrations by which various sects in this country profane the Lord's Supper. On the other hand, it is not that our people disbelieve the great doctrines which the Eucharist involves, but they either are ignorant of them, or think them of secondary importance. The members of the Church of England, by God's blessing, well know that none but a priest can stand in their stead before the Holy Table, and offer in their behalf the solemn prayers and praises of the Office of the Communion ; that none but a priest can consecrate the elements ; they believe also that the blessings attached to a worthy partaking are very great ; but how much is there which they forget, or which never has been taught them !

They have been told and rightly told, that the natural Body and the natural Blood of Jesus Christ are not given them ; but not with equal earnestness that the Body and the Blood are really given. They have been told and rightly told, that the elements of bread and wine remain after consecration unchanged in substance, but not also that after consecration those elements are no longer common bread and common wine, but that they are endued with another and mysterious efficacy, tending to a better purpose than the mere supporting of man's earthly life. They have been told and rightly told, that Jesus Christ made but one oblation of Himself once offered, but not that there is also in the Eucharist another commemorative but most true oblation of His Body and His Blood. They have been told and rightly

told, that it is a dangerous deceit to say the priest does offer Christ in the sacrifice of masses, but not that all antiquity and all ancient rituals testify, that in the Eucharist the Body and the Blood of our Blessed Lord are offered as the efficacious and propitiatory sacrifice for the living and the dead.⁸²

⁸² “The ancient Fathers were wont to call the Eucharist *Sacrificium laudis et gratiarum actionis*; not exclusively, as if there were no other sacrifice but that; for they called it also, *Sacrificium commemorationis*, and *Sacrificium Spiritus*, and *Sacrificium obsequi* &c: and which is more, *Sacrificium verum et propitiatorium*: all other ways but this the Eucharist, or any other sacrifice we make, are improperly and *secundum quandam similitudinem*, called sacrifices. The true and proper nature of a sacrifice is, to be an oblation of some real and sensible thing made only to God, for the acknowledging of man’s subjection to God, and of His supreme dominion over man, made by a lawful minister, and performed by certain mysterious rites and ceremonies, which Christ and his Church have ordained.—Therefore as there never was, nor could be any religion without a God; so there never was nor could be any without a sacrifice, being one of the chiefest acts whereby we profess our religion to Him that we serve.” *Bp. Overall*: in the Additional Notes to Nicholls on the Common Prayer: *p. 49.*

“The Eucharist may very properly be accounted a sacrifice propitiatory and impetratory both, in

this regard; because the offering of it up to God, with and by the said prayers, doth render God propitious, and obtain at His hands the benefits of Christ’s death which it representeth; there can be no cause to refuse this, being no more than the simplicity of plain Christianity enforceth.” *Thorndike*. Epilogue. b. iii. c. v. *p. 42*. Again, the same writer: “It cannot be denied that the Sacrament of the Eucharist—is both propitiatory and impetratory.” And, once more: “If the profession of Christianity be the condition that renders God propitious to us, and obtains for us the benefits of Christ’s Passion: and that the receiving of the Eucharist is the renewing of that profession, by virtue whereof the faults whereby we have failed of that profession, for that which is past, are blotted out, and we, for the future, are qualified for the blessings which Christ’s Passion tendereth; then is the Eucharist a Sacrifice propitiatory and impetratory, by virtue of the consecration, though in order to the participation of it.” *p. 46.*

“There is one proof of the propitiatory nature of the Eucharist, according to the sentiments of the Ancient Church, which will be thought but only too great; and that is the devotions used in the

As I have said just above, there may have been, and doubtless were, most weighty reasons why certain great doctrines of the Gospel should for a season be in a measure veiled: but if our present Service is obscure, and

liturgies, and so often spoke of by the Fathers, in behalf of deceased souls: there is, I suppose, no liturgy without them, and the Fathers frequently speak of them.—The Ancients did not use these prayers, as if they thought of a purgatory: nor did they allow prayers to be made for such, as they thought ill men, either as to principles or practice: they prayed for the Virgin Mary, Apostles, Patriarchs, &c. and such as they believed to be like them.—The use I make of it is to prove, that the Ancients believed the Eucharist a Propitiatory Sacrifice; and therefore put up these prayers for their deceased friends, in the most solemn part of the Eucharistic Office, after the symbols had received the finishing consecration.” *Johnson.* Unbl. *Sacr.* vol. i. p. 292.

Nothing can be more true than the fact which this very learned writer states, that anciently the Apostles and the blessed Virgin especially among the dead Saints were prayed for; a point of the highest importance, and to which I shall briefly refer again presently. But how different, how absolutely contradictory is the modern practice and doctrine of the church of Rome: which insists upon extending prayer for the dead far beyond any limits sanctioned by Scripture or antiquity, and forbids that use

of it which is authorized by the one, and may reasonably be grounded on the other. “*Martyri, vel cuiilibet Sancto faceret injuriam ille, qui pro eo beatam in cœlo vitam degente, oraret.*” *Angelo Rocca.* *Opera. tom. i. p. 139.* (239.)

This is a long note, yet these are but few out of many authorities to the same purpose: I shall however add but one more, the judgment of the present Bishop of Exeter. “Not only is the entrance into the Church by a visible sign, but that body is visible also in the appointed means of sustaining the new life, especially in that most sacred and sublime mystery of our religion, the Sacrament of the Lord’s Supper, the commemorative Sacrifice of the Body and Blood of Christ; in which the action and suffering of our great High Priest are represented and offered to God on earth, as they are continually by the same High Priest Himself in heaven; the Church on earth doing, after its manner, the same thing as its Head in heaven; Christ in heaven presenting the Sacrifice and applying it to its purposed end, properly and gloriously; the Church on earth commemoratively and humbly, yet really and effectually, by praying to God (with thanksgiving) in the virtue and merit of that Sacrifice which it thus exhibits.” *Charge to the Clergy.* 1836. p. 43.

all men must allow this, it is impossible to say how much of the omission of sound teaching, and consequent forgetfulness, has been caused by that obscurity. The direct prayers which were in the primitive Forms had the sure and good effect of keeping up in the minds both of the priest and people a remembrance of the solemn truths which were expressed in them. Plainly to pray for the descent of the Holy Spirit upon the bread and wine, and in plain words to offer up the sacrifice, could not but be followed by a corresponding faith. Practice and Belief would go hand in hand. But less plain words were to be used: deep mysteries which pass human understanding had been explained after a carnal manner, and it seemed right to the church of England that she should attempt to check the errors which were abroad, to correct the abuses which had followed such an explanation, by a less open declaration for a time of the truths themselves. She trusted also, that by the grace of God, the doctrines of which I speak might still be retained, not merely in the liturgy, but in men's minds. Unhappily, to a wide extent her hopes were disappointed. The plan adopted was not followed solely by good results. Its effects were similar to those which were produced by the more open violence of breaking down altars, and violating churches: “When men saw an altar broken down with every indignity, and all its costly furniture supplanted by a linen cloth, and the conveniences of a domestic table, no preaching could make them yield the latter a reverence denied by their teachers to the former.” Both parties agreed in tracing this to the same cause. “John Bradford, when the harbingers of persecution were gathering round him, exclaimed, ‘the contempt of the sacrament in the days of Edward hath caused these plagues upon us presently.’ Brokes, in his sermon before Queen Mary, in like manner traced the death of religion to ‘the defacing of churches, in spoiling their goods and ornaments, the breaking down

altars, throwing down crosses—change in altars, change in placing, change in gesture, change in apparel.' "⁸³

Her liturgy is a sure test of the Catholicity of any Church.⁸⁴ There may be canons, and articles, (more especially if they are chiefly negative) and forms even of Common Prayer, which if they touch not upon vital points may escape censure, and, answering the ends which they propose, be worthy of praise. But the liturgy is the great storehouse in which we are to look for and find the necessary declarations of the highest Catholic Truths, the unhesitating reception of the most deep mysteries, and the expressed confident expectation of obtaining the best gifts which have been vouchsafed to man.⁸⁵ This may be relied upon as a mark which

⁸³ Sketches of the Reformation: by the Rev. J. Haweis. p. 114. See also K. Henry's last speech to his parliament in 1545; *Collier. vol. ii.* p. 208: and the preamble of the Act. 1. Edw. VI. cap. 1: which was a penal statute, to such an excess had profaneness reached, against irreverent speaking of the Sacrament of the Holy Communion.

⁸⁴ "Sunt enim (says Renaudot, speaking of the Eastern Liturgies,) non unius quantumvis magni doctoris, voces et verba, sed Ecclesiarum, quæ cum unanimi consensu eam sacrorum formam, precesque probaverunt, legis illa vim obtinent, quæ, si sacras literas excipimus, major esse nulla potest. Nec id noviter ex cogitatum est, cum precum Ecclesiae testimoniis Augustinus Pelagianos confutaverit, ut a Cœlestino Pontifice et aliis factum est." *Dissertatio. 52.*

So Muratori: "In tot enim orationibus, ritibus ac cœrimoniis iden-

tidem dignoscitur, quid Ecclesia orthodoxa credit de Unitate ac Trinitate Dei, de Divinitate, Incarnatione, cœterisque ad Dei Filium spectantibus, uti et de Divinitate ac potentia Spiritus Sancti, et de aliis Ecclesiae Catholicae capitulis. Propterea ad hunc ipsum fontem recurrebat sanctus Augustinus, quod et alii ex patribus prout occasio ferebat præstitere. Nam quæ ibi dogmata occurunt, non unius privati doctoris sententiae sunt, sed universæ illius Ecclesiae, quæ iisdem Liturgiis utebatur." *De rebus Lit. 101.*

⁸⁵ The Bishop of Exeter in his Lordship's late protest against the consecration of another Bishop of the English church at Jerusalem, makes one of his reasons to be the objectionable character of what is called the German Liturgy: as "being grievously defective in more than one momentous particular." *p. 5.*

cannot deceive : ambiguous statements in other formulaires, comprehensive yet half-doubting confessions of Faith, cannot supply the evidence which a liturgy alone can give. During the Holy Service, in all ages, even from the earliest, the priests of Christ's Church,—knowing that they are surrounded by tried and approved believers, knowing that the half-instructed and the unreconciled, and trusting that the timid and the scoffer and the merely-curious have been dismissed and put forth from among them,—remove without reserve the veil which covers the secrets of the Gospel, praise God for all His mercies from the beginning of the world, pray to Him boldly for the blessings which He has promised, speak of the Flesh which must be eaten and the Blood which must be drunk if we would live eternally, and hiding nothing, obscuring nothing, consecrate by the power which has been given to them the simple elements, and endue them with the very efficacy of the very Body and the Blood of Christ.

I cannot but believe, seeing the evils which are so widely dispersed throughout this land ; the heresies which hundreds preach, and thousands think but little of ; and the carelessness, to say the least, with which numbers of our people, otherwise it may be well instructed and of sober lives, regard the Communion of the Supper of the Lord ; seeing all this, I cannot but think it would have been well for the members of the church of England if the reviewers of her liturgy had remembered, not only (as they did) the *doctrine* of the early disciples in the celebration of the Eucharist, but their *openness* no less : if they had not alone been anxious to secure what the testimony of every age assured them were essentials, but had also boldly proclaimed them to be so, and assigned them therefore their due prominence. But we know the difficulties by which in their day *they* were surrounded, and they could not foresee the dangers which encompass *us* ; and let us never forget, with all gratitude, that it is

one thing to possess a service, claiming to be a liturgy, which really wants the essentials ; and it is another to be content with, and thankfully use a liturgy in which these are not wanting, but obscured.

Throughout the old liturgies, equally of the Western and the Eastern Churches, there is the constant recognition of a doctrine which is not in modern days undisputed. Upon this subject some notice seems to be necessary, though I shall make but a few brief remarks, because there are several excellent works which treat fully of the matter. I mean that there is a real and material Sacrifice in the Eucharist.

Whatever may be the evidence for many chief truths received in the Church, whether for episcopacy, for infant baptism, for the observance of the Lord's day, or for the inspiration of sacred Scripture, the same evidence, both in kind and degree, is there for the doctrine of a true sacrifice in the Supper of the Lord. There are texts from the sacred Scripture which cannot reasonably be explained other than by referring them to a Priesthood, an Altar, and a Sacrifice : there are abundant testimonies from the fathers of the first four centuries, clearly enough teaching us, in spite of their habitual caution when speaking of so great a mystery, how those texts are to be understood, if we would understand them rightly. We must be prepared to doubt every practice and every article of faith of the early Church, if we are determined not to allow the force of the multiplied witness which can be brought to bear upon this point ; from fathers, and councils, and canons, and rituals, all telling us the same thing, all speaking to us in every nation, at every time, with one voice, of the Altar, and the Service, and the Sacrifice.

And these are words which are not to be explained away. Not only are modern opinions and notions of no value in opposition to the original records of the Christian Church, but upon those records we are bound to

put the same meaning in which they were at first understood. The Oblation, the Cup, the Bread, the Sacrifice, the Table of the Lord,⁸⁶ the Altar, Blessing the sacred Elements, Offering them, Giving thanks to God, are terms whose meaning could not be mistaken, when Jews and Heathens were in the habit of offering sacrifice: neither would such have been employed either by the Divine Writers or by the fathers, unless they were to be understood in their then general and proper sense. How dangerous must have been the use of them, if they were to be interpreted metaphorically only, at a time when the Church was anxious above every thing to destroy utterly belief in and reverence for idols, and heathen ceremonies and rites.

A denial of the Christian sacrifice leads easily to a denial of the priesthood. There cannot be the one without the other, and we cannot say how much need there is of the latter, where the former is not appointed. From

⁸⁶ “If it be said, S. Paul calls the Holy Board a *Table*: I answer, No, not simply a *table*, but the *Lord's Table*. 1 Cor. x. 21. And I have elsewhere proved, that by this expression we are to understand an Altar; for wherever else it is used in Scripture, that is clearly the meaning of it. As the reader may be satisfied, by perusing the four places, where we meet with this word in the Old Testament; viz. *Ezek.* xli. 22. *xliv.* 16. and *Mal.* i. 7. 12. The truth is, the Table of the Lord was the most honourable title that the Prophets and Apostle could give to a proper Altar.” Johnson. Unbl. Sac. 1. 311.

So also, Bishop Andrewes in his Answer to the xviiith Chapter of

Cardinal Perron. “The Holy Eucharist being considered as a sacrifice, the same is fitly called an Altar: which again is as fitly called a Table, the Eucharist being considered as a Sacrament.—Nyssen with one breath calleth it *θυσιαστηριον*, that is, an Altar; and *ἱερα τραπέζα*, that is, the Holy Table. Which is agreeable also to the Scriptures. For, the Altar in the old Testament, is by Malachi called, *mensa Domini*. And of the Table in the new Testament, by the Apostle it is said, *habemus Altare*. Which, of what matter it be, whether of stone, as Nyssen: or of wood, as Optatus, it skills not. So that the matter of Altars makes no difference in the face of our Church.”

saying that there is no sacrifice except what is literally and entirely spiritual, a few steps bring us to the abandonment of a priesthood, of the episcopate, to a contempt of the great grace of orders and Apostolic benediction, to a rejection of tradition as the recognized expositor of Holy Writ, to a setting up of our own judgments, whatever we may assert to the contrary, as the infallible guides whom we are determined to obey.

The command, “When thou fastest, be not of a sad countenance, but anoint thine head and wash thy face, that thou appear not unto men to fast, but unto thy Father which is in secret,” has been allowed to be a conclusive scriptural argument for the necessity of fasting under the Christian dispensation. What reason then have any to deny the same conclusion for the continuance of a proper altar, and therefore for a proper material sacrifice, to be drawn from the text, “if thou bring thy gift to the Altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath ought against thee; leave there thy gift before the altar, and go thy way; first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift.”⁸⁷

It has been argued that our present liturgy speaks of the “sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving;” and also, “that we offer and present unto the Lord, ourselves, our souls and bodies to be a reasonable, holy, and lively sacrifice;” and *therefore* that there is no other sacrifice, and that the priest does not also offer the Body and the Blood of Christ. But we might quite as justly conclude from the words of the collect for the *sunday* next before Easter, that the sole end of our Blessed Saviour’s taking upon Him our flesh, and suffering death upon the cross, was “that all mankind should follow the example of His great humility:”⁸⁸ which would contradict the state-

⁸⁷ See Mede upon the argument from this text. *Works.* p. 390.

⁸⁸ *Collect.* Almighty and ever-lasting God, who of thy tender

ment of another collect almost immediately succeeding, that the Almighty God has given His only Son to be unto us not only "an ensample of godly life," but also "a sacrifice for sin."⁸⁹

I would notice a charge which is very often brought against the advocates of the Christian sacrifice, viz. that of priestcraft: a word of ill meaning in its common acceptation, calculated to arouse the passions of the ignorant, and the alarms of men who are anxious to deny what they do not wish to be the truth. Let it however be followed with the contempt and dislike and ridicule which usually are in its train: these are vain weapons of offence, these are but most insignificant annoyances in comparison with the sharper pains that saints endured of old: from those pains at present, by the great mercy of God, the church of England is free: yet whether they again recur or not, whether we have only lesser evils to contend with, (and then, perhaps, so subtle is the adversary, we shall be accused of seeking, and provoking, and saying we are strong to resist what we confidently believe is not about to happen :) let us speak boldly all that we believe sincerely, let us hold back no portion of the whole Word of God. In this country, where so many thousands claim to be baptized and confirmed members of the Church, every priest sins who conceals

love towards mankind, hast sent thy Son, our Saviour Jesus Christ, to take upon him our flesh, and to suffer death upon the cross, that all mankind should follow the example of his great humility; Mercifully grant, that we may both follow the example of his patience, and also be made partakers of his resurrection, through the same Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

⁸⁹ *Collect for the Second Sun-*

day after Easter. Almighty God, who hast given thine only Son to be unto us both a Sacrifice for sin, and also an ensample of godly life; Give us grace that we may always most thankfully receive that his inestimable benefit, and also daily endeavour ourselves to follow the blessed steps of his most holy life; through the same Jesus Christ our Lord.

the truth *only* through fear of giving offence. His plain duty is “with all faithful diligence to minister the Doctrine and Sacraments of Christ, as the Lord hath commanded ; and to banish and drive away all erroneous and strange doctrines contrary to God’s word ;” and he must claim and must assert, so that he may lead his people to seek it at his hands, that *he and others of his order, are the sole dispensers of the best gift of God*, the food and earnest of immortality, the bread of life, the Body and the Blood of Jesus Christ.

And another charge : that they who would speak thus are but Romanists in disguise ; or at least are wavering, and tending Romewards. Surely upon every point on which we rightly can, the more we can establish a similarity of *doctrine*, I would not say of *practice*, between ourselves and the church of Rome, the more we shall keep stragglers away from her, and promote good feeling between the two communions. They cannot be many in number among us, who would hesitate to express their earnest prayer that the English and the Roman churches were at one again, and that through the western world there might be fellowship once more ; which, when in God’s good time it comes, may well be looked upon as an earnest of a restored communion with the East, to a healing of the divisions which have torn asunder that One Church, of which the seamless robe of her Incarnate Lord was the appointed type.

. And yet, how deep is the gulf between us ! the doctrines of Transubstantiation and of Papal Infallibility present an impassable barrier, through which we can discern no opening, so long as the Church of Rome denies communion to all who do not consent to them. And it is our duty to contend against them : it is our duty no less to point out their unscriptural character, and false foundation, than to inculcate the truths which I have spoken of above. If those truths are held also by the Church of Rome, shall that be a just reason for

our rejecting them ? shall we regard them, upon that ground only, even with suspicion ? We do not argue so in many other cases, why then in this ? There have been in former times men to whom the very sound of Rome brought tidings of nothing but what was to be abhorred, and they repudiated first one part of her creed, and then another, first one observance and then another, for the single and to them sufficient reason, that so it was believed and done at Rome : until they left to themselves little of Christianity but the name : and all that was vital had been given up. Not so has the church of England taught her children : she has rejected the errors of the church of Rome, but the act of separation was not hers at the first, (we trust, therefore, not the punishment,) and she has never been stripped, although they may have been obscured, of the marks and tokens which distinguish her as a true portion of the Holy Catholic Church.

To return to our more immediate subject, the ancient and modern liturgies of the church of England. None would wish to see restored the trifling observances and the doubtful rites which the rubrics of the old services enjoin. Writers of the Roman church have made many objections against our present Form, several of which are unfounded, or may be advanced equally against their own, or relate to things which very few would seriously complain of. A collection of these are to be found in Mr. Palmer's book which I have already referred to,⁹⁰ and among the latter class are such as, that particular prayers and ejaculations, anointings, exorcisms, &c. have been omitted. These may safely be left without more remark, and the reader, I doubt not, will justly decide that they are as far as possible from necessary, being mere additions or alterations of late ages, from

⁹⁰ *Origines Liturgicæ. vol. ii. p. 9—18.*

which the earlier liturgies are free. But it is our duty to retort the charge, and express our dislike to much still retained in the present Roman liturgy, but which we have not in our own. The prayers and order of the old Forms are derived from remote antiquity ; many of the rubries are comparatively modern and superstitious. No one can read the *Uses* which are reprinted in this volume, without acknowledging the truth of this. There are directions “for so many crossings, so many various gestures, that the priest should at one time stand, at another bow, at another kneel,” without a reasonable cause ; “that now he should look up, then down, now regard the altar, then the people, kiss the book of the Gospels, or the deacon, or subdeacon, at one time take the paten between his finger and middle finger, at another hold it in a different way :”—all these are rules, which, whilst we carefully boast not too boldly of our liberty, we may rejoice that we are free from.

These are not, however, after all, matters of vital consequence : but besides them are considerations of a very serious character. Simply to name them, will be sufficient. The great error of transubstantiation brought with it additional directions to bow down and after consecration adore the Host : then expose it to the people, who should adore likewise. And in this, the highest service of the Church of Christ, who is there but must feel it to be a profanation to speak of the *merits* of the *saints*?⁹¹

⁹¹ I am bound to remind the reader that *Thorndike* puts an interpretation upon the term “merit” as used in the old liturgies, (he speaks only of the Roman) different from that in which the later Latin fathers used it : and therefore takes it “to import only the exercise of that communion which all members

of Christ’s Church hold with all members of it, ordained by God, for the means to obtain for one another the grace which the obedience of our Lord Jesus Christ hath purchased for us without difference, whether dead or alive.” *Epi-*
logue. book iii. p. 357.

Again, there is the use of an unknown and dead language : and above all there is the denial of the Cup ; an abuse the evil consequences of which we can scarcely overrate, nor esteem too lightly the authorities and reasons on which it rests : contradicting as it does the express commands of Christ, and the steady practice of a thousand years ; and throwing doubt upon the entire reception by communicants of the instituted Sacrament.

There is one ceremony commanded in the old Books to be observed, not in like manner to be condemned, and which seems to me to call for a brief remark. I mean, the use of the sign of the Cross. The multitude of crossings in the old Canons may very rightly have been discontinued, and yet to give no direction anywhere throughout for the use of that Holy Sign may be equally far from accordant with primitive usage. I would here quote the words of a ritualist of great authority among us, whose work is generally recommended to the attentive study of all candidates for Orders.

He says : “ I do not know that there is an ancient liturgy in being, but what shews that this sign was always made use of in some part or other of the office of communion. A number of crossings renders the service theatrical : but one or two we always find : so much having been thought proper upon this solemn occasion, to testify that we are not ashamed of the Cross of Christ, and that the solemn service we are then about is performed in honour of a crucified Saviour. And therefore as the Church of England has thought fit to retain this ceremony in the ministration of one of her sacraments, I see not why she should lay it aside in the ministration of the other. For that may very well be applied to it in the ministration of the Eucharist, which the Church herself has declared of the Cross in Baptism : viz. that it was held in the primitive Church, as well by the Greeks as the Latins, with one consent and great applause : at what time, if any had opposed themselves

against it they would certainly have been censured as enemies of the name of the Cross, and consequently of Christ's merits, the sign whereof they could no better endure.”⁹² How common the use of this sign anciently was, is clear from Tertullian, in the often quoted passage, “Ad omnem progressum atque promotum, ad omnem aditum et exitum, ad vestitum, ad calciatum, ad lavaera, ad mensas, ad lumina, ad cubilia, ad sedilia, quacunque nos conversatio exercet, frontem crucis signaculo terimus.”⁹³ The reader will see that the use of the sign of the Cross is enjoined in the first Book of King Edward.

There never, however, has been any question of *necessity* as regards the ceremony of the use of the sign of the Cross: but not so with respect to another, the mixing of water with the wine. The epistle of S. Cyprian upon this subject is well known: and in short, from the earliest times of which any account has come down to us, there is an uniform and concurrent testimony that such was the observance. But passing by the proofs which the ancient liturgies furnish, and the often-quoted authorities of the fathers and ritualists of the middle ages, which are to be found in the works of almost every later writer, I shall merely add to these a few other testimonies which bear more immediately upon the practice of the church of England.

In one of the earliest documents which have come down to us, the very famous penitential of Archbishop Theodore, we find: “Nullus namque presbyter nihil aliud in sacrificio offerat, præter hoc quod Dominus docuit offerendum: id est, panem sine fermento, et vinum cum aqua mixtum; quia de latere Domini sanguis et aqua exivit.”⁹⁴ In the succeeding century, the

⁹² *Wheatley.* Rational Illustration, &c. p. 293.

⁹³ *Tertullian.* de Corona. *Edit.* Rigalt. p. 102.

⁹⁴ *Cap. xlviij. 17. Thorpe.* Ancient Laws and Institutes. vol. ii. p. 58.

100th of the excerpts of Archbishop Egbert directs : “ Sacerdotes Dei diligenter semper procurent, ut panis, et vinum, et aqua, sine quibus nequaquam missæ celebrantur, pura et munda fiant.”⁹⁵ Still later, among the canons of Ælfric : “ The priest shall purely and carefully do God’s ministries, with clean hands and with clean heart ; and let him see that his oblations be not old-baken, nor ill seen to ; and let him always mix water with the wine ; because the water betokens the people for whom He suffered.”⁹⁶ And the abbot Ælfric in his homily upon Easter-day, speaks to the same purpose : (I quote from the Latin translation ;) “ Libri sancti præcipiunt, ut cum vino Eucharistiae immisceatur aqua, aqua enim significationem habet plebis, et vinum sanguinis Christi, et hac de causa neutrum horum offeratur unquam per se, in sacra missa ; ut sit Christus cum nobis, et nos cum Christo, cum membris Caput, et cum Capite membra.”⁹⁷ Once more, from the Anglo-saxon Ecclesiastical Institutes : “ V. We also command, that the oblations which, in the holy mystery, ye offer to God, ye either bake yourselves, or your servants before you, that ye may know that it is cleanly and neatly done ; and the oblations, and the wine, and the water, destined for the offering in the mass-singing, be minded to preserve with all cleanness and earnestness, and with fear of God, so that there be no uncleanness or impurity in it ; because no mass-singing may be without those three things, viz. oblations, and wine, and water, as the holy writ says. Be the fear of God with you, and all that ye do, do with much zeal. The wine betokens our Lord’s passion, which He suffered for us ; the water the people, for whom Christ let His blood be shed.”⁹⁸

⁹⁵ Ibid. p. 111.

thol. tom. iii. p. 355.

⁹⁶ Ibid. p. 361.

⁹⁸ Thorpe. Ancient Laws, &c.

⁹⁷ Eccles. Anglic. Vindex Ca-

vol. ii. p. 405.

In later years, we have an abundance of canons to the same effect. Thus in 1237, among some synodal constitutions it was ordered ; “In sacramento sanguinis domini major pars vini, et modicum aquæ ponatur.”⁹⁹ Once more, a canon of Richard Bishop of Chichester, a.d. 1246 : “Celebret sacerdos cum pane ex tritico purissimo, et vino in debita quantitate, nullo modo corrupto, et modica aqua, quæ a vino penitus absorbeatur.”¹ Lastly let the reader refer to the second of the Cautells of the Mass, printed below, p. 168. “certo sciat se debitas materias habere : hoc est, panem triticeum, et vinum cum aqua modica, etc.”

This observance of mixing water with the wine was continued according to the order of the first book of King Edward. The rubric is ; “Then shall the minister take so much Breade and Wine, as shall suffice for the persons appoynted to receiue the Holy Communion, laynge the breade upon the corporas,—and putting the wine into the Chalice, or els in some faire or conueniente cup, prepared for that use, puttyng therto a little pure and cleane water : And setting both the bread and wyne upon the Alter : then the Prieste shall saye, &c.”

But in the year 1552 this good catholic custom was made to give way to the fancies of Bucer and others, “the scandal of the Reformation ;”² and from that time

⁹⁹ *Wilkins. Concilia. tom. i. p. 657.*

¹ *Ibid. p. 688.*

² Kemnitius allowed that the mixture was simply indifferent, arguing that it rested, as in fact it does, solely upon the authority and precept of the Church. Exam. Cone. Trident. *pars 2. Sess. 22. cap. 7.* Luther however went to a greater length, declaring, “meo sensu inelius, et tutius foret, aquam

non miseere vino, cum sit merum figmentum humanum, et sinistram, immo pessimam habeat significacionem.” *Contra Henric. 8.* But according to Bellarmin, Calvin and his followers expressed, as in other matters so in this, most extreme and rash opinions : affirming that those who mixed water with wine in the Eucharist, were “sacrilegious heretics and blasphemers.” *Opera. tom. iii. p. 328.*

to the present the rubric of the English liturgy omits all notice or rule about it. Mr. Palmer in remarking upon the point has said; “Even if we were to admit this custom to be of apostolical antiquity” (what doubt is there about it?) “it is yet not essential to consecration by the admission of Zaccaria and Bona, who say that no one will contend that it is necessary, and that the opinion of theologians is fixed that it is not. But the Church of England has never prohibited this custom, which is primitive and canonical.” Wheatley also argues that it is not essential: “It must be confessed,” he says, “that the mixture has in all ages, been the general practice, and for that reason was enjoined as has been stated above, to be continued in our own Church, by the first reformers. And though in the next review the order for it was omitted, yet the practice of it was continued in the King’s chapel royal, all the time that Bishop Andrews was Dean of it: who also in the form that he drew up for the consecration of a church, expressly directs and orders it to be used.³ Whatever may have been the cause of laying it aside, since there is no reason for thinking it essential, and since every Church has liberty to determine for herself in things not essential, it must be an argument sure of a very indiscreet and over hasty zeal to urge the omission of it as a ground of separation.”

Both these writers are correct in the conclusions which they arrive at, although it is not quite true that no one has contended for the necessity of the mixture. Every one must remember the differences of the non-jurors upon this point also among others, to which Wheatley

³ Wheatley does not give the rubric or a reference. It is, “Cæteris rebus ordine gestis demum Episcopus ad sacram Mensam reddit (sacellaniis utrisque aliquantulum

recedentibus) *lotisque manibus*, pane fracto, *vino in Calicem effuso*, *et aqua admista*, stans ait, Almighty God, &c.” Form of Consecration of a Church, p. 42.

alludes in the last sentence of the extract just above : and long before their time, it had formed a subject of controversy in the Church. Much more cautiously and correctly therefore speaks Angelo Rocca : “ Quamvis autem major scholasticorum doctorum pars, hoc est, fere omnes, aquam in calice consecrando, nec de necessitate sacramenti, nec de præcepto juris Divini esse velint, non desunt tamen, qui eam in sacramento calicis de necessitate sacramenti, ac præcepto Divini juris in calice consecrando miscendam esse opinentur.”⁴ Benedict XIV. makes the same admission : but both he and Rocca decide without hesitation that the mixture is not necessary or essential, resting only upon the precept of the Church :⁵ which as of old in the Church of England might be, or as now, might not be, but removed. In short, those who hold the contrary opinion have been so few, that their opposition to the general agreement and decisions of the whole Church in this matter, serve but to illustrate and to confirm the truth.

⁴ *Opera. tom. i. p. 267.*

⁵ *Opera. tom. ix. p. 115.* And so spoke the council of Trent. “ Monet deinde sancta synodus, præceptum esse ab ecclesia sacerdotibus, ut aquam vino in calice offerendo miscerent, etc.” *Sessio. xxii. cap. 7.*

To the same purpose also an earlier authority, *Thomas Waldensis* ; acknowledging that our Blessed Lord consecrated wine only in the Last Supper, he says : “ A calice tamen illo dominico etiam præsens calix dominicus formam sumit secundum essentiam calicis, a latere autem ejus formam habuit admisionis.” Again, soon after : “ Mistio non facit alienatatem rei, sed signi, eo quod non facit vel adimit substantiam sacramenti :

— a lateris vulnera originem habet mistio calicis, et ad sanctam coenam non recurrent (patres) pro ejus scienda origine.—Certa ratione primo puto miscuisse Apostolos, a quibus primo defluxit de miscendo statutum. Et *Paschasius* ; Plane aqua in sanguine misceatur. Quare misceatur, dum in natalitio calicis factum fuisse non legimus ? Illa maxime causa est, quia de latere Christi, ubi passio impletur, sanguis pariter cum aqua manavit. Quod certe mysterium apostoli plene intelligentes, faciendum in calice censuerunt, ut nihil deesset nobis in hoc sacramento ad commemorationem passionis, quod tunc extitit in cruce ad consummationem nostræ redēptionis.” *De sacramentalibus. iv. 32. fol. 74.*

Although we can scarcely go so far as to say that Bellarmin held that the mixture is necessary, still it is not to be denied that he uses language which almost tends to it, and at least he does not so readily admit the statements of other theologians of the Roman church. It must be remembered however that he argues from the supposed fact of the Cup in the Last Supper having been mixed: and only in a subsidiary view regards the mystery of the Water and the Blood which flowed from our Saviour's side. The Cardinal says; “Ecclesia Catholica semper credidit ita necessarium esse aqua vinum misceri in calice, ut non possit sine gravi peccato omitti. Utrum autem sine aqua sacramentum consistere possit, non est adeo certum; communis tamen opinio in partem affirmativam propendet. Quare falso Kennitius catholicis in commune tribuit, quod asserant, aquam in eucharistia esse de necessitate sacramenti, cum paucissimi id affirmant.”⁶

The mixture was always therefore, when rightly considered, looked upon only as having a mystical signification: as the same cautell of the Salisbury missal above cited proceeds to declare, “Apponitur aqua solum ad significandum:” and as very learned writers have argued, some things are necessary in the sacrament *ad plenitudinem essentiae, aut efficacie*, others only *ad plenitudinem significationis*. These last are subject to the wisdom and discretion of each particular Church, to be ordered as she may judge most convenient to the necessities of the time: and the church of England having in 1552 been forced to submit to the wishes of those who disliked the mixture, the reviewers of her liturgy in 1662, upon a further consideration, did not think it advisable to restore the practice, ancient and once universal as it was. Certainly it was not imperative upon them to have

⁶ De Sacram. Euch. 4. x. *Opera*, tom. iii. p. 328.

done so, although the majority might now perhaps allow that it would have been a wise and pious course.⁷

There are many examples by which we might prove that priests of the church of England since the removal of the order in the year 1552, nevertheless have mixed water with the wine in the celebration of the holy eucharist. The case of Bishop Andrewes has been already mentioned. The author of *an Answer to Mr. Leslie*, in 1719, speaks of the practice being continued by some: and in the reign of K. James, when Prince Charles visited Spain, among the royal orders drawn up for directing the English Service which was to be observed in the prince's family during his stay at Madrid, was, "IV. That the communion be celebrated in due form, with an oblation of every communicant, and admixing water with the wine."⁸ There is an argument however, which we cannot but allow might in this matter have had very considerable weight with men before 1662: viz. that the Common Prayer Books from 1552 until then rested not upon sufficient authority: and therefore Bishop Andrewes, and Bishop Overall, in their departure from the rubrics of the later Books, were but observing that Order which alone, during the entire period of which I am now speaking, was binding upon the church of England. It was not possible, neither would it have been wise, that they should in all things have returned to the first Book of 1549, better though it was than that of 1552, as they were ready to acknowledge; but they were enabled, with safe consciences, to adopt some certain and few observances authorized by it, to the improvement of the liturgy then established, and which they generally used.

But since 1662, I cannot but look upon the question as essentially different: and Mr. Palmer appears to draw

⁷ I would refer also to *Brett's* remarks upon this observance, Dissertation, p. 86-102. And to *John-*

son. Unbl. Sacr. vol. ii. pp. 58. 59. ⁸ *Collier. Eccles. Hist. vol. ii. p. 726.*

the line very narrowly when he says (as above) that the church of England has not prohibited the custom. It is not necessary that every ancient practice which is no longer to be observed, should particularly be mentioned : the mere omission of directions must, in many cases, be allowed to be sufficient. More than this; the statute 1. Eliz. c. 1. which enforces the act of 2nd and 3rd Edwd. c. 1. ordains, “ That all Ministers shall be bound to say, and use the Mattens, Evensong, Administration of each of the Sacraments, and all other Common and Open Prayer, in such Order and Form as is mentioned in the said Book so authorized by Parliament, and *None other or otherwise.*” And the statute 14 Chas. II. enacts “ That the former good Laws and Statutes of this Realm, which have been formerly made, and are still in force for the Uniformity of Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments, shall stand in full force and strength to all intents and purposes whatsoever, for the establishing and confirming the said Book,—herein before mentioned to be joined and annexed to this Act.”

Therefore, although we may regret that this primitive practice, sanctioned by the constant observance of it by the universal Church for 1500 years, is not now included among the rites according to which we celebrate the holy eucharist, yet as it is not essential to the valid consecration and administration of the Cup, and has been forbidden by the rubric of our present Order of communion, the wise and proper course for the ministers of the church of England to pursue must be, to consecrate wine only without any mixture of water. The intention and object with which anciently the mixture was ordered, were mystical and to be signified by a public adding of the water to the wine, that those who were present might see, and acknowledge its hidden meaning. So that if this mixture be not public as of old, and explained to the people, the purpose of it must be lost, and disobedience to the rubric be accompanied by no reasonable benefit whatever.

CHAPTER VIII.

 E have now, in this chapter, to examine our present office of the Holy Communion, and point out the three rites which I have said seem to be essential, and are to be found in it. These are the recital of the words of Institution, the Oblation of the Elements, and the Invocation of the Holy Ghost.

The recital of the words of Institution occurs in (what the rubric expressly calls) the Prayer of Consecration. The priest having made a short commemorative thanksgiving for the infinite mercies and loving-kindness of the Father, Who hath given for us His only Son Jesus Christ to suffer death upon the cross ; and having invoked the Divine Blessing, (which we shall come to presently,) goes on to say, “Who,” i.e. our Blessed Lord, “Who in the same night that He was betrayed, took Bread ; and when He had given thanks, He brake it, and gave it to His disciples, saying, Take, eat, this is My Body, which is given for you : Do this in remembrance of Me. Likewise after supper, He took the Cup ; and when He had given thanks, He gave it to them saying, Drink ye all of this ; for this is My Blood of the New Testament, which is shed for you, and for many, for the remission of sins : Do this, as oft as ye shall drink it, in remembrance of me.”⁹ Nothing can be more accordant with ancient usage.

But I would not pass on, without a brief notice upon a point which has already been alluded to : viz. whether by *the recital alone* of the words of Institution the bread

⁹ So also the liturgy of 1552.

and wine can be held to be validly consecrated. If there is any rubric which we may desire to be altered in our present service, surely none rather than that which is so contrary in its spirit to all antiquity, so agreeable to (apparently) the erroneous doctrine of the modern church of Rome,¹⁰ and which declares that “if the consecrated Bread or Wine be all spent before all have communicated, the Priest is to consecrate more, according to the Form before prescribed ; beginning at (*Our Saviour Christ in the same night, &c.*) for the blessing of the Bread ; and at (*Likewise after supper &c.*) for the blessing of the Cup.” The manner in which Wheatley endeavours to evade the difficulty which the observance of this rubric enjoins, is very unsatisfactory. He “humbly presumes that, if the minister should at the consecration of fresh elements, after the others are spent, repeat again the whole form of consecration, or at least from those words, ‘*Hear us, O mercifull Father, &c.*’ he would answer the end of the rubric.”¹¹ This cuts the

¹⁰ The Cautells of the old Sarum, York, and Hereford missals direct almost in the same words as our present rubric : for example as to the Cup, in case of accident, “—ne sacramentum maneat imperfetur debet calicem denuo rite præparare : et resumere consecrationem sanguinis ab illo loco : Simili modo.” Nor is it a little worth remark that of these words, the “*verba consecrationis*,” to which, according to the theory of the church of Rome, so much power and effect are attributed, some are declared to be more important than the others : as the same Cautells tell us. “Uno spiritu tractim dicat, Hoc est enim corpus meum : sic non immiscet se alia cogitatio. Non enim videtur

esse rationabile discontinuare formam tam brevem, tam arduam, tam efficacem : cuius tota virtus dependet ab ultimo verbo, scilicet, meum, quod in persona Christi dicitur.” Into how great difficulties are men driven by the first steps taken to define too accurately, and beyond the limits of human judgment, the workings of the Most High : and how much better, to say the least, must it be in all such cases, to repeat unnecessarily but reverently words and rites which we may have any reason to suppose to be essential, than to omit, without the authority of inspiration, even one which may indeed be so.

¹¹ Rational Illus. p. 291.

knot: and like other methods in similar cases, by breaking the rule. Still, however, it does seem, unsatisfactory as it is, the only way left to us, when unfortunately it happens, that the elements first consecrated are not sufficient for the number of communicants.

But in fact, if we carefully consider the matter, such a case can scarcely even by possibility occur: I do not of course mean that it does not, but that it ought not to occur. The rubric of which I am speaking is of course no more obligatory than any other of the whole Order of Communion: and it may almost be argued that we are not to attend to any one, unless we observe others on which it may depend. Now, in this case, there is a rubric, which if we carefully obeyed, would relieve us from difficulty: viz. the first, which requires all "who intend to be partakers of the Holy Communion, to signify their names to the Curate, at least some time the day before." If, knowing the number, the priest does not consecrate so much as, and a little more than, he can believe to be sufficient, he will be needlessly exposing himself either to doubts (if he entertain such) of the validity of the consecration, or to the being obliged to "answer the end of the rubric" after the recommendation of Wheatley.

Next, as to the oblation of the elements, after the recital of the words of Institution; or, to speak more strictly, as to the offering of the sacrifice. The prayer of Oblation, says Wheatley,¹² was "mangled and dis-

¹² Hickes, however, rather argues that the second oblation, "is made in substance, and according to the intention of the Church in the prayer of Consecration to God the Father, where after the commemoration of Christ's offering Himself upon the Cross, and his institution of the perpetual Memo-

rial of His precious death, God the Father is implored to hear us, while 'according to the same Institution, we receive His creatures of Bread and Wine, in remembrance of His Son our Saviour's Death and Passion.' " Christian Priesthood, vol. i. p. 119.

placed at the review in 1552 ; being half laid aside, and the rest of it thrown into an improper place : as being enjoined to be said in that part of the Office which is to be used after the people have communicated." He adds, approvingly certainly rather than otherwise, the example of Bishop Overall, whose practice was to use the first prayer in the post-communion Office between the consecration and the administering, "even when it was otherwise ordered by the public liturgy."¹³

Certainly we cannot but agree with Wheatley, that in our present office this prayer of oblation has been displaced. But no one who requires an express prayer of oblation, can wish the terms of it to be in plainer words, than in those which are to be there found : and all who follow Wheatley's view, may be well satisfied, using it with all thankfulness, so to offer up to the Almighty Father, the appointed sacrifice. Thus then it stands :¹⁴ "O Lord and heavenly Father, we thy humble servants entirely desire thy fatherly goodness, mercifully to accept this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving ; most humbly beseeching thee to grant, &c." And again ; "Although we be unworthy, through our manifold sins, to offer unto thee any sacrifice ; yet we beseech thee to accept this our bounden duty and service ; not weighing our merits, but pardoning our offences, through Jesus Christ our Lord."¹⁵

¹³ "On this Bishop Jolly remarks, that 'he must have thought it no breach of the Act of Uniformity'—(on the Eucharist, 155) ; Dr. Pusey, (to whom Tract 87, p. 98, warrants us in ascribing the Introduction to Tract 81) that 'perhaps his so doing implies that it had always been so done in that portion of the Church, and the rubric not

received in that Church as yet.' p. 36." Note to Robertson's *How to conform to the Liturgy*, p. 127. It is but fair to Mr. R. to add, that he says he does not understand Dr. Pusey's explanation.

¹⁴ So also the Book of 1552.

¹⁵ Bishop Watson says ; "In his last supper, Christ beyng our most hye Priest, firste of all did offer a

It cannot but be observed that the observations which I have just made, are grounded upon the supposition that only in this prayer the offering is made; but in the prayer of consecration also the same essential rite is to be found, as very learned writers have argued. Upon this point I shall extract a passage from Johnson's *Clergyman's Vade-mecum*, and leave it to the judgment of the reader. The author takes notice "how some with vehemency have insisted that the first collect in the post-communion should be inserted between the consecration and the administration, or some prayer of oblation added in that place. But," he continues, "I can see no necessity for any such alteration. The consecration prayer, and the words used by the priest at the administration, seem sufficient, if rightly applied. In the consecration prayer, Christ is said, by one Oblation of Himself upon the Cross, to have made a full and perfect sacrifice: and in our Saviour's words of institution, inserted in this prayer, the Bread is called His Body given, i.e. sacrificed for us; the Wine His Blood shed, as a libation for us, i.e. for the remission of our sins, as follows presently after. Nothing then can be more clear, than that the eucharist is hereby declared to be a sacrifice; and in the words of administration, the merits of it are applied to every receiver, The Body of Christ, which was given for thee (and is now exhibited to God in thy behalf) preserve thy body and soul to everlasting life. No wise man is for alterations, but in case of apparent necessity, which I cannot perceive in the matter now before us."

Sacrifice to God the Father, and commaunded the same to be done of the Priestes of his Church that occupye hys offyce, in memorye of hym, and so taughte the newe oblation of the newe Testament,

whyche Oblation the Church recyving of the Apostles, dothe offer to God throughoute the holle worlde." *Holsome and Catholyke doctrine*, p. 68, edit. 1558.

And, once more ; it cannot be necessary that the oblation should be in more express terms, and in plainer language than the invocation of the Holy Spirit, to which we shall next direct our attention. It is quite enough if the whole action supposes and carries on an oblation : which is so undeniable a circumstance of the liturgy of the church of England, that all may remain fully satisfied with it, who object to our present prayer being placed after the communion, or think that the argument drawn from the words of institution and administration is of scarcely sufficient weight.

Lastly, as to the invocation of the Holy Spirit : that He may descend upon, and make the representative elements the Body and the Blood of Christ. It is true that anciently this was prayed for in plain and direct words. As in the Clementine ; “Send down thy Holy Spirit, the witness of the sufferings of the Lord Jesus, that He may make (*αποφηνη*) this bread the Body of Thy Christ, and this cup the Blood of Thy Christ.” Again, in the liturgy of S. James ; “Send down, O Lord, Thy most Holy Spirit upon us, and upon these gifts which are here set before Thee, that by His descent upon them, He may make this bread the holy Body of Thy Christ, and this cup the precious Blood of Thy Christ.” And once more in the Alexandrian ; “Send down Thy Holy Spirit upon us, and upon these loaves and these cups, that the Almighty God may sanctify and thoroughly consecrate them, (*ινα αυτα αγιαση και τελειωση*) making the bread the Body, and the cup the Blood of the New Testament of our Lord Himself, our God, our Saviour, and supreme King Jesus Christ.” It does not appear necessary, however, that this invocation should be so express. The western Church for a thousand years has not used such a prayer, and we may conclude with Palmer and Waterland, that it is not essential to mention before God the means by which He is to accomplish the end we pray for. “However true

it be, that God effects this consecration by means of the Holy Ghost, it is unnecessary to pray expressly for the Holy Ghost to consecrate the elements of bread and Wine, because God knows perfectly all the means and methods of consecration, and because any prayer for consecration, is, in fact, a prayer that it may be accomplished by all the means which are known to *Infinite Wisdom*.”¹⁶ The invocation, therefore, in the English liturgy is as follows ; “ Hear us, O merciful Father, we most humbly beseech thee ; and grant that we receiving these thy creatures of bread and wine, according to thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ’s holy institution, in remembrance of his death and passion, may be partakers of His most blessed Body and Blood.”¹⁷

Although, as I have just said, the western Church for many centuries has not used an express prayer for the descent of the Holy Spirit, yet the true doctrine was anciently acknowledged by every part of it : viz. that by His influence the consecration was fully completed, which was not otherwise, as the fact of its being used after the repetition of the “words of consecration,” clearly testified. And upon this point the passage in Gelasius, against Eutyches and Nestorius, is sufficient : where speaking of the sacred elements he says : “in hanc, scilicet in Divinam, transeunt, Sancto Spiritu perficiente, substantiam, permanentia tamen in suæ proprietate naturæ.”¹⁸ But long after this time, plain prayers were to be found to this effect in the Gallican liturgy : as for example : “ *Post secreta. Descendat, precamur omnipo-tens Deus, super hæc, quæ tibi offerimus, Verbum tuum sanctum ; descendat inæstimabilis gloriæ tuæ Spiritus.*”¹⁹

¹⁶ *Palmer. Orig. Lit. ii. 138.*

¹⁸ *Routh. Script. Eccles. Opus-cula. p. 493.*

¹⁷ So also in the Book of 1552. See Palmer, for further remarks upon this passage.

¹⁹ *Mabillon. De Lit. Gallicana. p. 331.* See also above. p. cix. Note 79.

And so late even as the xith century, Micrologus still speaks of the invocation, as to be said in every Service. “Composita oblatione in altari, dicit sacerdos hanc orationem juxta Gallicanum ordinem: Veni Sanctificator omnipotens, aeternæ Deus, benedic hoc sacrificium, tuo nomini præparatum. Per Christum Dominum nostrum.”²⁰ So, once more, there are many such instances in the Mozarabic liturgy, such as, on the first sunday in Lent: “Emitte Spiritum tuum de sanctis cœlis tuis, quo sanctificentur oblata:” or, on the third sunday after Easter: “His sacrificiis propitius illabere, hisque benedicturus descende.”

It is true that later writers of the Roman communion try to explain away these testimonies, though as may be supposed by a most unnatural and forced interpretation, because they furnish an incontestable argument against the effect which they attribute to the sole repetition of the “verba consecrationis.” But I cannot agree with Johnson, who has suggested that therefore the express invocation was omitted from the Roman Canon.²¹ Because it is not certain it ever was more plain and direct than in the modern Use of that Church, or in our own liturgy: and, moreover, the doctrine itself was acknowledged until the novel introduction in after-years of the error of transubstantiation.

We may assert then, that our liturgy contains the necessary essentials to a valid consecration of the Holy Eucharist. That these are disjointed, misplaced, obscured, is matter for serious exertions to be employed upon, that they may be restored to a due order, and a more evident existence. We are not, however, driven to seek in other Forms, the certainty which we cannot discover in our own: and there can be no surer mark of the ever-abiding presence of our Blessed Lord hitherto,

²⁰ Cap. xi.

²¹ Unbl. Sacr. vol. i. p. 196.

with this the English branch of His Church, than that we still possess it. Whilst we regret what we have lost, let us acknowledge in deep humility the correcting hand, which has spared us what none will dare to say, we have deserved.

There is yet one more subject upon which I would make some observations. In all the liturgies reprinted in this volume, will be found commemorations of and prayers for the dead. There is an uniform observance of the great principle that we who are alive and the dead saints form but One Body, "*one family in heaven and earth*," (as it is written in the Ephesians,) under One Head: and that the highest service which can be paid to their Blessed Lord by the living, ought to include also in its supplications those who have been already called to their eternal rest, the Dead in Christ.

It has been a pious opinion of the Church that the Holy Angels are especially present with us in the celebration of the eucharist. As an old Bishop of our church has written; "*In this geuynge of thankes by Christe oure Lorde, for whose merites they be onely acceptable, the Priest prayeth to be ioyned and associate with the Aungels and Archangels, and all the whole army of the blessed spirites in heaven, who than doo assist the Prieste, and be present there in the honour of hym who is offered, praysynge, honoring, and adouringe the Maiestic of almyghtye God.*"²² Again, some centuries before his day, a provincial council of the church of England had spoken the same thing. "*Altaris ornementa integra sint et munda, et sæpe abluantur per personas a canonibus deputatas, ad reverentiam Salvatoris nostri, et totius cœlestis curiæ, quam huic sacramento*

²² Watson. *Holsome Doctrine.* &c. p. 79. So in the Seraphic Hymn we say, "Therefore, with

Angels and Archangels and with all the company of heaven, we laud and magnify thy glorious Name.

confiendo, et confecto, non dubium est interesse.”²³ And once more, the two following from the Ecclesiastical Institutes of the Anglo-saxon church. “Without doubt, there where the name of God is frequently invoked, and the holy mystery offered in the mass-service (*on mætre-rānge*) there is no doubt, that the presence of God’s angels is there very near.” And, more plainly in the other place: “Much is the supplication and great is the halowing, which sendeth away devils and putteth them to flight, as often as baptism is performed or housel hallowed: and holy angels hover there around, and protect the deeds, and through God’s powers support the priests, as often as they rightly minister to Christ.”²⁴

But the Holy Angels are in the actual enjoyment of that unspeakable bliss which is not to be bestowed on man until after the great Judgment. For them therefore the Church supplicates not any increase, or any hastening of anticipated joy: but for the Dead she does pray. At the solemn time when the Memorial has been offered to the Almighty of the Passion of the Beloved Son, she thinks not only, speaks not only of her members who are militant here on earth, but remembers those who are equally her members still, though removed from the carnal sight: she acknowledges by the mere remembrance, and by her commemoration, that they are yet *living* although *dead*: that they have hopes and expectations, and (if it be not presumptuous to say so) longings for the coming of Christ’s Kingdom, for the consummation of all things.

Therefore, with an undoubting and steady voice, has the Church always, East and West, North and South, prayed for the Dead. At one time, offering “for all

²³ *Wilkins. Concilia. tom. ii. p. 513. A. D. 1322.* See also *Lyndwood, lib. iii. tit. 23. Linteamina. verb. Interesse.* And *S. Chrysostom. Hom. ix. de Pœnit. Opera. tom. ii. p. 412.*

²⁴ *Thorpe. Eccles. Laws. vol. ii. pp. 329. 409.*

the saints, who have pleased God from the beginning of the world :”²⁵ at another calling upon God to remember “ all the faithful, from just Abel unto this day, and that He would make them rest in Paradise, in the bosom of Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob.”²⁶ At another, the dyptichs of the dead having been read, entreating that God would “ give rest unto their souls, in the tabernacles of His saints, that He would dispense unto them the good things which He had promised, and vouchsafe them the kingdom of heaven.”²⁷ At another, offering the reasonable worship, for those “ who are departed in the faith, our forefathers, fathers, patriarchs, prophets, apostles, preachers, evangelists, martyrs, confessors, chaste persons, and every spirit perfected in faith.”²⁸ At another, calling upon God “ to remember His servants and handmaids, who are gone before with the sign of faith, and sleep in the sleep of peace.”²⁹

We may not be able, nor is it necessary that we should desire, exactly to define the reasons why this kind mark of charity and love for those who were departed, was always, from the first, exhibited by the living members of the Church of Christ : this we know, that those who lived nearest to the fountain-head, the apostles themselves and the chief Corner-stone, must have known the will of the Almighty Saviour. It may have been that they prayed for an encrease of their bliss : or for the

²⁵ The Liturgy of S. Clement.

²⁶ The Liturgy of Jerusalem.

²⁷ The Liturgy of S. Mark.

²⁸ The Liturgy of S. Chrysostom. The words which follow are remarkable. “ Especially the most holy, immaculate, blessed above all, most glorious Lady, the Mother of God, and ever Virgin Mary.” Hence the observers of that li-

turgy did not believe but that the blessed Virgin remains still with other departed saints, in Paradise, *expecting* and not enjoying the fulness of bliss. So S. Jerome says in his epistle to Paulina : “ the saints enjoy the company of Angels, and are with Mary the Mother of our Lord.”

²⁹ The liturgies according to the Use of Sarum, York, &c.

hastening of the great day, for the consummation of all things, for the gathering together of the elect, when God shall again be All in All. One thing they could not be deceived in ; that they were performing a duty acceptable to Him Who heard their prayers, and that, in the most practical of all ways, they were evidencing their full belief in the immortality of the soul, and the resurrection of the dead.

I am very far from asserting that it is necessary that every liturgy should exhibit the proofs of this faith, and the example of so just and primitive a practice ; prayer for the dead may conduce to its perfection, being a sign of brotherly charity and love, and especially proper to the Divine Service. But more than this, unlike the essential rites of which I have been speaking, it cannot be considered : and remembering the abuses which for some preceding ages had unhappily overrun in this matter, among other branches of the western Church, the Church of England, her rulers in the sixteenth century would not, it may almost be argued, have acted unreasonably, if they had removed it entirely from her liturgy. They could not but see and acknowledge the wide extent to which those evils, consequent upon corrupt notions and explanations of Catholic doctrines, had unhappily spread. They knew upon the one hand that masses for dead individuals can profit nothing : that each man while he lives on earth “must do with all his might, whatsoever his hand findeth to do :” that “where the tree falleth, there it shall be :” that whoso “will hear His voice,” must “to day harden not his heart :” that “no man may deliver his brother, nor make agreement unto God for him :” but they knew no less upon the other hand the testimony of all antiquity, rightly so called, of the first five centuries of the Christian Faith, to the observance of prayer for the dead in Christ. Hence they acted wisely, and, I doubt not, overruled by the Spirit of God ; they took not away all remembrance of them from the Holy

Office, but they did not venture to speak so loudly and so plainly as men did in purer times : they left the expression of their hopes and wishes, couched not in dubious but in cautious language, in words which careless eyes it may be might overlook, but whose meaning cannot be denied.

Therefore, with gratitude we declare, that the liturgy of the church of England is not wanting in this particular ; in it we still include and pray for those who are gone before ; we still beseech our Heavenly Father, mercifully to accept our sacrifice, and to grant that “we and all His whole Church may obtain *remission of our sins* and *all other benefits* of His passion.” How emphatical is the expression, “ ALL THE WHOLE CHURCH” ! the Communion of the Saints.³⁰

³⁰ The above sentence stands as it was in the first edition, and when it was written I knew not that any had before argued from the same passage. I mention this (I trust it need scarcely be added) only as a proof that a careful consideration will be sufficient commonly for every one, to discern in such cases, and to arrive at, the truth for himself : and that very often mere want of such consideration is the sole reason for the rejection or the doubt of it. But Bishop Overall (and probably others also) has noticed and argued from this prayer in a passage so remarkable that I extract it. “ If we compare the Eucharist with Christ’s sacrifice made once upon the cross, as concerning the effect of it, we say that that was a *sufficient* sacrifice : but withal that it is a true, real and *efficient* sacrifice, and both of them propitiatory for the sins of the whole

world. And therefore in the oblation following, we pray that it may prevail so with God, as that we and all the whole Church of Christ (which consists of more than those that are upon the earth) may receive the benefit of it. Neither do we call this sacrifice of the Eucharist an *efficient* sacrifice, as if that upon the cross wanted efficacy : but because the force and virtue of that sacrifice would not be profitable to us, unless it were applied and brought into effect by this eucharistical sacrifice, and other the holy sacraments, and means appointed by God for that end : but we call propitiatory both this and that, because they have both force and virtue in them to appease God’s wrath against this sinful world.” *Notes on the Communion Service :* printed in Nicholls’ commentary. p. 46. Again, upon the same words. “ This is a plain oblation of Christ’s

This prayer however is so far at the discretion of the officiating priest, that he may use one other in its stead : in which the important duty of which I have been speaking, is not, it must be acknowledged, so forcibly recognized. It seems to look more to the living actors, and has less in it of that forgetfulness of self, as the sole object of prayer, which characterized the Church of old. And yet, after all, the catholic truth is acknowledged and in all its fulness : that the mystical Body of the Son, by a part of which and for all of which the sacrifice has been offered, “is the blessed company of all faithful people.”³¹

death once offered, and a representative sacrifice of it, for the sins and for the benefit of the whole world, of the whole Church ; that both those which are here on earth, and those that rest in the sleep of peace, being departed in the faith of Christ, may find the effect and virtue of it. And if the authority of the ancient Church may prevail with us, as it ought to do, there is nothing more manifest, than that it always taught as much : and it is no absurdity to say, here is an Oblation made for all, when it is not only commemorated to have been once offered, but solemn prayers are here also added, and a request made, that it may be effectual to all.—And in this sense it is not only an eucharistical, but a propitiatory sacrifice : and to prove it a sacrifice propitiatory, always so acknowledged by the ancient Church, there can be no better argument, than that it was offered up, not only for the living but for the dead, and for those that were absent, for them that travelled, for Jews, for

heretics, &c. who could have no other benefit of it, but as it was a propitiatory sacrifice : and that thus they did offer it, read a whole army of Fathers.” *Ibid. p. 50.* See also above, p. cxv. Note 82.

³¹ In the Bodleian library, is a copy of “*A Form of Common Prayer, to be used upon the thirtieth of January, &c., published by His Majestie's direction, Printed by John Bill, 1661,*” in which the following prayer occurs. “ But here, O Lord, we offer unto Thee all possible praise and thanks for all the glory of Thy grace that shined forth in Thine anointed, our late Sovereign, and that Thou wert pleased to own him (this day especially) in the midst of his enemies and in the hour of death, and to endue him with such eminent Patience, Meekness, Humility, Charity, and all other Christian virtues, according to the example of Thine own Son, suffering the fury of his and Thine enemies, for the preservation of Thy Church and People. And we beseech Thee to

And how great a mark of her still being a portion of Christ's Holy Catholic Church is this, that the church of England has not in her eucharistic service thrown off communion with the Invisible Church. No valid objection can be made to her liturgy upon that pretence, and the great duty of which I have spoken is always to be fulfilled.³²

give us all grace to remember and provide for our latter end, by a careful, studious imitation of this Thy blessed Saint and Martyr, and all other Thy Saints and Martyrs that have gone before us, that we may be made worthy to receive benefit by their Prayers, which they in Communion with Thy Church Catholick offer up unto Thee for that part of it here Militant, and yet in fight with and danger from the flesh: that following the blessed steps of their holy Lives and Deaths, we may also show forth the Light of a good example; for the glory of Thy Name, the conversion of our enemies, and the improvement of those generations we shall shortly leave behinde us: and then with all those that have borne the heat and burthen of the day (thy servant particularly, whose sufferings and labors we this day commemorate) receive the reward of our Labors, the harvest of our Hopes, even the Salvation of our Souls: and that for the Merits and through the Mediation of Thy Son, our Blessed Saviour Jesus Christ. Amen."

this subject, from the earlier fathers of the Christian Church: nor need I remind the reader that I have stated nothing in the text, as being the doctrine of the Church of England, beyond what is fully warranted by the united testimony of her best divines since the reformation, by Andrewes, and Overall, and Bull: by Field, Thorndike, Hammond, and many others.

But I would here protest against the making any unauthorized attempts to introduce the practice of praying for the dead, to a greater extent and in more particular terms than the church of England, not only in her liturgy, but in other parts of her Common Prayer Book, has recommended and allowed. We know the evils which have followed in the church of Rome, the scarcely reverential manner in which the condition of the unseen world of departed spirits has been, with an almost minute exactness, explained: we know the evils which have followed the introduction of the unscriptural doctrines of Purgatory, and Indulgencies, and Pardons. It is much therefore to be lamented that adaptations of the devotions of that Church, should be put forth for the use of members of our own: they are contrary both

³² I have avoided adding authorities which have been cited over and over again, in all books upon

It is necessary that I should give some account of the editions which I have used in preparing the following arrangement of the English and Roman liturgies.

The *Use of Rome* is printed from the edition by Plantin, Antwerp, 1759, 4to.

The *Use of Hereford* has been taken from an edition of that missal in the Bodleian library. Of this Use, no other copies are known to exist than the two there preserved, and one, which may rather be called a fragment, so imperfect is it, in the library of S. John's college, Oxford. One of the Bodleian copies is upon vellum, the other upon paper: both imperfect, and unfortunately will not between them give us the perfect book. As, for example, in the *Canon* (see p. 121, and the note) there is an erasure, which occurs in a leaf altogether wanting in the other copy. This book is a folio, and the following are the title and colophon. *Title*:—“Anno Incarnationis domini secundo supra quingentesimum atque millesimum, die vero prima mensis Septembris, opera et industria M. Petri oliverii et Iohannis mauditier Impressorum Rothomagi, iuxta sacellum diui apostolorum principis Petri commorantium. Impensa vero Iohannis richardi mercatoris: hoc novum et egregium opus sacri Missalis ad usum famose ac percelebris ecclesie Helfordensis nuper instanti ac peruigili eura visum correctum et emendatum. Ne non auctoritate reuerendi in Christo patris et domini ejusdem ecclesie epyscopi meritissimi, ac dominorum decani et capituli: est in propatulo venale facili precio coram cunctis productum et exhibitum.” *Colophon*. “Finis Missalis ad vsum celebris ecclesie Helfordensis. summa cura ac vigili opera nuper Impressi Rothomagi cum additione, Accentuarii legentibus in ecclesiis valde

to the spirit and intention of the church of England, and cannot be admitted without the fear of even worse consequences than of old,

viz. discontent and schism. Nor, more than all, have such prayers the example of the early Church to plead in their defence.

vtli. Et hoc impensis Iohannis richardi eiusdem Rothomagi civis non immeriti : iuxta ecclesiam diui nicholai commorantis." I would add that at sign. A. 1. after the calendar and several pages containing directions how to say the collects, the kyries, &c., the short title at the head of the service for the first sunday in Advent is, "Incipit missale secundum vsum *Herfordensem*."

The *Use of York* is taken from an edition of that missal in my possession : 4to. *Title.* "Missale ad vsum celeberrime ecclesie Eboracensis optimis caracteribus nouissime Impressum cura peruigili maximaque lucubratione mendis quampluribus emendatum atque in forma portabili marginatum. Ere et impensis honestorum virorum Guillermi bernard et Jacobi cousin, bibliopolarum, Rothomagi degentium ante atrium librariorum majoris ecclesie, atque in ipso atrio e regione curie ecclesiastice. Anno salutis christiane decimoseptimo supra millesimum et quingentesimum, die vero vicesimasexta mensis octobris completum." This edition has not a Colophon.³³

The York missal is a book of extreme rarity : Sir Harris Nicolas in his very useful *Chronology of History* says, "it is doubtful whether any perfect copy exists, except the one preserved at Cambridge in the library of S. John's college."³⁴ This however is incorrect, because about five or six perfect copies are known to be extant.³⁵ In the British Museum is a fragment of a York missal, which has been long supposed to be of an unknown edition. It is in fact a part of the edition of 1516, Rothom. fol.

³³ In the first edition I used a copy of the York missal (Folio. *Rouen.* 1516.) in the Bodleian Library : but, if I am not mistaken, the two are exactly alike. For the present work I have naturally preferred a copy which I could have

continually before me.

³⁴ Paris. Francis Regnault. m. ccccc. xxxiii. 4to.

³⁵ For an account of the York missals, I must refer the reader to the Dissertation on Service Books, *Monum. Ritualia.* vol. i p. lxxv.

The *Use of Sarum* is printed from a copy of the edition of that missal, in my possession, of 1492, at Rouen, in folio. This is the only perfect³⁶ copy known to exist, and in all respects is a very important book. There seems no reason to doubt that it is the *Editio princeps* of the Sarum missal, but it is not mentioned by Gough, or Brunet, or Hain: ³⁷ all of whom speak of the edition of 1494, by John Hertzog, as the first.³⁸ The *Title* is simply upon else a blank leaf, “Missale secundum vsum ecclesie sarisburieñ.” Then follow a calendar, and the “benedictio salis et aquæ:” after which, under a wood-cut, begins the service for the first sunday in Advent, with the usual title, “Incipit missale secundum vsum Sar.” Before the Canon, is a large wood-cut (the reverse blank) representing the First Person of the Ever-blessed Trinity, with the Evangelistic Symbols in the corners, and below is a cross. The *Colophon*: “Impensa et arte magri Martini morin civis Rothomagensis iuxta īsignem prioratum sancti laudi eiusdem ciuitatis moram trahentis officium sacrum ad vsum sar. (ut vulgo loqmur) missale dictum, sollerti correctionis lima nuper castigatum et impressum: finit feliciter. Anno domini. M.CCCC. lxxxii. die xii. Octo-

³⁶ I say perfect, because there is a large fragment of this edition in the Bodleian upon vellum. The imperfections have been supplied from a copy upon paper with the date 1510, printed also at Rouen by Joh. Richard. Until lately, this vellum part was supposed to be of about the same date, and is so entered in the library catalogue.

³⁷ *Repertorium Bibliographicum.*

³⁸ There was one other edition during this century: printed in England, by Julian Notary, folio,

with this colophon: “In laudem sanctissime Trinitatis totiusque milie celestis ad honorem et decorum scē ecclesie Sarum anglicane eiusq. deuotissimi cleri. hoc missale diuinorum officiorum vigilanti studio emendatum Iussu et impensis præstantissimi viri Winkin de Worde. Impressum Londoñ. apud. Westmonasterium per Iulianum notaire et Iohanem barbier felici numine explicitum est. Anno dñi M.eccc. lxxxvij. xx. die mensis Decembris.” The next was by Pynson. fol. 1504.

bris." Upon the reverse is the printer's device, viz. a negro's head and the letters M. M. within a circle supporting a double cross, with the following legend in the border: "Imprime. A. Rouen. Devant. Sainct. Lo." in gothic letters.

No printed copy of the *Use of Bangor* has been discovered. If there ever was an edition, it has, so far as we know, utterly perished, perhaps by the common accidents of time, but more probably by means of the eager inquisitors under Edward VI. I have arranged the Ordinary and Canon according to the *Use of Bangor* from a manuscript in my possession, written somewhere about the year 1400: a large folio, upon vellum. I do not venture to say that it is *certainly* that Use, but I conceive there are many reasonable grounds for supposing it to be so. It is undoubtedly an English missal, and not according to the Uses either of Sarum, York, or Hereford. A very slight examination even of the small portion reprinted in this volume will be sufficient to establish this: a point confirmed by many variations in the collects and offices throughout the book.

But I would mention particularly the *Ordo sponsalium*. This agrees with the prayers and order in the famous pontifical according to the Use of Bangor, still preserved in the cathedral library of that city; to which it was given in the year 1485, by Richard Ednam, the then Bishop.³⁹ That pontifical does not, however, contain the forms of *giving troth*, and at the *putting on of the ring*: which were anciently in all the missals, in

³⁹ This volume originally belonged to Anianus, Bishop of Bangor from A.D. 1268 to about 1300. It was for some time lost from the cathedral, but with better fortune than happened to the great majority of such books, it was preserved and restored to the library by Bi-

shop Humphreys in 1701. I have given a particular description of this most valuable manuscript in the Dissertation on Service Books, to which I must venture again to refer the reader. *Monum. Ritual.* vol. i. p. cxv.

English ; and I cannot think it altogether out of place to give them at length.

In the Salisbury missal the man is directed to say : “ *I, N, take the, N, to my weddyd wyf to haue ād tho holde frō thys day far warde for beter, for wors, for rychere for porer : in sykenisse ād in helthe tyl deth us deperte yf holy chyrche wol it ordeyne, and therto I plyght the my trouthe.*” The woman repeats the same form, adding after the words *and in helthe*, “ *to be bonour ād buxum⁴⁰ in bed and at borde.*” At the putting on of the ring the man says : “ *With tys ring I the wedde and tys gold ād siluer I te geue : and with my body I te worseype and wyth all my worldly catell I the honore.*”

The York missal directs both the man and woman to say as follows : “ *Here I take the, N, to my wedded *wyfe* or *husband*, to have and to holde at Bedde and at Borde, for fayrer, for fowler, for better for warse, in sikenes and in hele (or helth) tyll dethe us departe. And therto I plyght the my trouthe.*” Putting on the ring :⁴¹ “ *With this rynge I wedde the and with this golde and siluer I honoure the, and with this gyft I honoure the.*”

The Hereford missal directs the man to say : “ *I, N, underfynge þe, N, for my wedded wyf, for betere for worse, for richer for porer, yn sekenes and in helþe, tyl deþ us departe, as holy churche haþ ordeyned, and þerto y plyȝth þe my trouvþe.*” The woman repeats the

⁴⁰ There are more meanings than one given to this old English word. The usual is that it signifies *obedience*. The dictionaries do not commonly mention the privative form of the word, which, however, leads us to the true meaning, and occurs in *Hylton's Medled lyfe*. Printed by R. Wyer, p. 4. “ Also it longeth to all yonge begynnyngē

men, the which come newe out of worldly synnes to the seruyce of god : for to make them able to ghostly werkynge, & for to breke downe the *unbuxumness* of the body by discretion.”

⁴¹ The old books, both Salisbury and York, say, upon the fourth finger, “ *quia in illo digito est quædam vena procedens usque ad cor.*”

same, with the addition after the word *helþe*, “to be boxum to þe.” Giving the ring the man says: “Wyþ þys ryng y þe wedde, and þys gold in seluer ych þe ȝeue, and vvyþ myne body ych þe honoure.”

In my manuscript the form appointed for the man is, “I N, tak þe, N, to my weddyd wyf to haue & to holde from thys day forward, for bettere for werse, for fayrere for fowlere, for rycherere for porere in syknesse & in helthe tyl deþ us depart ȝyf holy cherche yt wole ordeyne. And therto y plyȝhte the my trewthe.” The woman repeats the same, adding after the word *helþe*, “to be boneere & buxum in all lawfulle placys.” The form at the giving of the ring is: “Wyth thys ring I þe wedde & ys gold & syluer I þe ȝefe & wyth my bodi the wourchepe and wyth all my worldli catell I the onore and endue.”

I do not say that these variations⁴² prove this missal to be *certainly* the *Bangor Use*, whilst joined with others they shew it to be, as I have already said, neither the York, nor Hereford, nor Sarum. I humbly leave them to the consideration of men better learned in the subject than myself, trusting that they may at least lead to some inquiry into the matter. There are very probably un-collated and neglected manuscripts in our public libraries, which may some day decide without doubt what the *Bangor Use* was. The whole question of the ancient English Uses is one upon which very little labour has yet been bestowed.⁴³

⁴² Nor is to be forgotten that the Ordinary and Canon of the *Bangor pontifical* (that is, so much of them as that MS. contains) have no variations which militate against the claim of my missal to be of *Bangor Use*, whilst there are several remarkable points of agreement which very considerably strengthen it. Of

these the reader will himself be able to judge, by examining them as they are pointed out in the notes below.

⁴³ There are unquestionably many imperfect MSS. and printed editions of missals of various *Uses*, in our public libraries, which have been arranged (and therefore neg-

A note in the handwriting of the age, at the end of the calendar, fixes the book to have belonged to a church in a part of the country where the Use of Bangor was probably observed. It is as follows: “This Booke was geuen to the hye Alter of the Paryshe Churche of Oswestry by S^{r.}⁴⁴ Morys Griffith Prist, To pray for all Christen Soules, the yere of oure Lorde god a thow-sande fyve hundred fyfty and foure.” I suppose that it had been removed from the church during the troubles of king Edward’s time, been carefully preserved, and as soon as possible restored after queen Mary’s accession. There was anciently at Oswestry a monastery, the church of which was made the parish church, and is described by Leland in his *Itinerary*.⁴⁵

If, in the first edition of this arrangement of the Ancient Liturgies, I trusted that it would not be an unacceptable book, I may now congratulate myself on the fulfilment of that hope; and still more earnestly than then, desire that the additions which have been made, in notes and otherwise, will in their degree also be found useful. The circumstances of the times in which we live seem to call for a more general knowledge, especially among the clergy, of these subjects; which must not be looked upon as merely antiquarian, or even historical, but as of

lected) under the very convenient title of *Roman Missal*. An authentic reprint of the York or Hereford missal, for example, would very probably lead to the discovery of other copies; and so we might hope also by inquiry, to discover even the lost Lincoln Use, or assure ourselves of the Bangor.

⁴⁴ *Sir*, was a common title given in those days to men of certain religious orders, from the Latin *Domini*, which also being contracted

into *Domnus*, became *Dom* or *Dan*. And hence *Dan Chaucer*, as he is styled by Spenser. This title after its serious use was lost, became ludicrous: as for example, “*Dan Cupid*.”

⁴⁵ Leland says that the church of S. Oswald at Oswestry was sometime a monastery “caullid the White Minster. After turned to a Paroche Chirch, and the Personage impropriate to the Abbey of Shreusbyri.” *Itinerary*. vol. v. 37. *Edit*, 1744.

the highest importance in their relation to questions involving doctrine. That temper of mind we may trust is rapidly passing away, in which we have feared to come in contact, as with unholy things, with the ancient liturgies and offices, (which are indeed the monuments) of the English church. Men have been accustomed to speak slightly, and with harsh words also, of holy prayers which for a thousand years rose through the aisles of our village, equally with our cathedral, churches, and of solemn rites by which devotion was not only quickened, but directed to its proper end.

Very much of this must, not in charity simply but of necessity, be attributed to ignorance : passing by of course the few whom no argument will reach, and with whom Genevan prejudice is infallible. It may be said that the original editions of these books are of that extreme rarity, as to be completely beyond the reach of all who have not access to the public libraries. When therefore men, by one sweeping condemnation, contumuously passed judgment upon the old services and worship of the church of England, they spoke of matters about which they knew absolutely nothing, and without the slightest discrimination included within one sentence both good and bad, essentials and non-essentials, trivial or superstitious rites and holy ceremonies. Nor did they know that the Common Prayer Book now used in their Church, is founded upon and draws its origin from the very sources about which they did not hesitate to utter these opinions. Such a judgment may perhaps be popular, may be widely received, but is worth nothing.

Let then the authentic documents be produced, and let men have the means of examining for themselves ; it may not be, nor is it to be desired, that an approbation as ill-judging and as ill-founded as disapproval has been, should follow ; but this I cannot but believe, this at least we may justly and with all moderation hope for : that that extreme and false, because indiscriminating, dislike

of old rituals and liturgies, and the no less extreme love of modern observances will become temperate: and that with a better knowledge, we shall seek when fit opportunities shall offer, to regain whatever can be proved to be really good and holy; and speak plainly, and claim undoubtingly, and insist with all earnestness upon the privilege of still possessing many means, as well of conveying as of receiving grace, which, we cannot help acknowledging, we might have lost.

And, whether well-advised or not, whether it may now be as loud as a few years back, there has been a demand for a convocation of the church of England; a convocation, I mean, in fact, and not in mockery; a convocation which shall shew, by being permitted to deliberate and enforce its canons, that the State, to which the Church of England is bound, can protect her. It may be years before such a convocation may assemble; it may not now be desirable that it should do so; nay more, before it does meet it is possible that the alliance between Church and State, as it exists, will be somewhat modified. But when we have a convocation, the Book of Common Prayer cannot fail to come before its notice; and upon the one side there will be members who, following the steps of their predecessors one hundred years ago, will attempt to bring in latitudinarian opinions, and infect with the heresies of Calvin and Zuingle and Luther, our established Forms: upon the other side there will be men advocating the restoration of serious errors of the church of Rome, from which we have so long been free. Surely, then, considering this there is cause for making every effort, which shall smooth the path to that great fountain of Catholic Truth, Catholic Antiquity.

I would add that the book to which the above remarks have been prefixed is intended for the clergy, and from its title will be hardly one which will either attract the notice or fall into the hands of the laity. Hence I have

said, or rather have repeated some things already said by others in every age since Christianity was published, which, all-important as they are, in these times mere caution or the fear of being misunderstood would have reserved in general discourse, or in so called popular works.

With regard to the few Notes which were added at the end of the first edition of this work, I then said, that they could not even pretend to being a shadow of a commentary on the text. In preparing the present edition, I purposed to be much more full in my remarks than I have now been: but having commenced upon a very extended plan, changed my intentions after some progress had been made. It is not requisite for me to enter into the reasons by which I was influenced. I shall be satisfied if the additions are not thought too numerous, and yet enough both to supply in some degree the want of the many volumes which bear upon the subject, and to excite a desire to promote the study of it in those who have time and opportunities to do so.

And, knowing the deep mystery which surrounds the doctrine of the Blessed Eucharist, the subject which has been before us; and the inestimable blessings which are attached to a proper understanding and belief of it; I sincerely pray, that He, in Whom all our words and works should both begin and end, to the benefit of Whose Church all his ministers should humbly dedicate their labours, will prosper so far only as He sees good, this which I have done: may He so overrule the consequences which it may have, (and our most careless sayings, our lightest actions are followed often by we know not what, in the workings of His Providence) that all erroneous statements, all incorrect conclusions, all wrong suggestions, may be as though they never had been written: may He, of His great goodness, grant that every judgment or opinion may be duly weighed before it is either rejected or admitted: and that all may be received at

least in the spirit with which I have aimed to write, desirous that the cause of Truth alone may be advanced, the cause of the Church of England, a branch of the One Church, which is Holy and Universal.

And, without repeating this my most earnest prayer, I would extend it to another work, which will be finished together with this. It may be said that these are too trifling matters upon which such solemn wishes should so publicly be expressed ; trifling and of little value they may indeed be : but in another view those labours scarcely can be trifling in His sight, which whether valueless in their results or not, have occupied so large a portion as these have, of the short time allotted to us here on earth. So regarding them, as I who am responsible must, much better is it to be exposed, if it is to be so, to the charge of unduly recommending them to the Divine Blessing, than to the consciousness that through some feeling of false shame, I have failed to do that which I feel to be a duty.

Broadleaze, near Devizes.

Aug. 8, 1846.

1. *Ordinarium Missae.*
2. *Canon Missae.*
3. *Liturgia S. Clementis.*
4. *The Supper of the Lorde.*

I. Ordinarium Missae.

II. Canon.



Ordinarium Missae.

SARUM.

BANGOR.

EBOR.

*Ad missam dicendam*¹ *Ad missam di-* *Quando presbyter la-*
dum sacerdos induit se cendam exer- *rat manus suas*² *ante*

¹ (*dieendam*. Sar.) The Church of Christ has always insisted upon a diligent preparation to be made by all her members before the reception of the Holy Communion: much more therefore should he who is about to Celebrate offer up earnest petitions to the Almighty, for His especial grace; confess his sins, and ask for pardon, and acknowledge his unworthiness. Anciently, (independent of the exact confession which was to be made,) the following prayer was appointed to be said: and, as it is not to be supposed that the Priests of the Church of England in our own times ever think of entering upon this, the most mysterious and awful of their sacred duties, without some such prayer and preparation as I have just spoken of, and, as they are left to their own choice as to what prayers they should use, I would venture to call their attention to this: because, although some expressions in it must not be taken in the exact sense, in which for some time previous to the Reformation they certainly were, yet they will still bear an orthodox interpretation, and the whole prayer has the impress of antiquity, and is in its spirit and intention excellent.

“ ¶ *Oratio dieenda ante missam.* Deus qui de indignis dignos, de peccatoribus justos, de immundis mundos facis: munda cor et corpus meum ab omni contagione et sorde peccati, et fac me dignum altaribus tuis ministrum, et concede propitiis: ut in hoc altari ad quod indignus accedo, hostias acceptabiles offeram pietati tuæ pro peccatis et offenditionibus meis, et innumeris quotidianisque excessibus; et pro omnibus hic circumstantibus, universisque mihi familiaritate et affinitate conjunctis, atque me odio aliquo insectantibus et adversantibus, cunetisque fidelibus Christianis vivis et mortuis: et per eum sit tibi meum votum atque sacrificium acceptabile: qui se tibi Deo Patri obtulit in sacrificium, Jesus Christus, Filius tuus, Dominus noster. Qui tecum vivit et regnat.” *Missale Sarum. Edit. 1492.* Some editions add, (as all doubtless understand,) “ in unitate Spiritus Sancti, Deus.”

It will be observed that the *York Use* makes no mention of any vestments, and the *Hereford* speaks only of the Amice and the Alb. We must remember that though now they are lost, there were formerly numerous other volumes in which complete instructions were to be found for the due vesting of both the Celebrant and his Assistants: in the Missal, sometimes they were but alluded to, at other times omitted altogether. There cannot be a shadow of doubt, that the full number of vestments was required by the order of the Church of Hereford as well as by the Church of Salisbury: and if one would argue from this rubric “ postquam sacerdos induerit se amictum

Ordinarium Missae.

HERFORD.

Ad introitum missæ postquam sacerdos induerit se amictum et

ROM.

Sacerdos paratus³ cum ingrediatur ad altare, facta illi debita

et albam," that the Chasuble (for example) was not also necessary, he might as well attempt to prove from the York rubric, that in that Church the Celebrant was not vested at all, and was simply to wash his hands. The following is a Canon of an early Council. " Nullus Presbyter sine amictu, alba, et stola, et fanone, et casula ullenatus Missam celebrare præsumat. Et haec sacra vestimenta mundissima sint, et in nitido loco intra Ecclesiam collocantur. Nec Presbyter, cum his induitur, extra Ecclesiam exeat: quia hoc lex divina prohibet." *Regino Prumiensis. De Ecc. Discip.* Lib. i. p. 57.

² (*Lavat manus suas. Ebor.*) I cannot decide whether the rite of washing the hands was peculiar to the Church of York, as the other English Uses omit all mention of it: nor, whether in that and in the Church of Hereford the Hymn *Veni Creator*, and prayers were said at the putting on of the Vestments. It is not probable that the washing would be omitted: an observance so universal and one which, although a mere ceremony, almost the light of nature would suggest. Euclio says (as cited by Cardinal Bona) " Nunc lavabo ut rem divinam faciam." *Apud Plautum, in Aulularia*, iv. 2. The Christian Church has observed it from the earliest ages. S. Paul alludes to it in his Epistle to Timothy: " I will therefore that men pray every where, lifting up holy hands." Ep. 1. c. ii. This, we must remember, just after he has been speaking of the Blessed Eucharist. Tertullian asks: " Quæ ratio est, manibus quidem ablutis, spiritu vero sordente orationem obire?" *de orat. cap. xi.* S. Augustin also: " Si erubescimus, ac timemus Eucharistiam manibus sordibus tangere, plus timere debemus ipsam Eucharistiam intus in anima polluta suscipere." *Ser. 244.*

³ (*Sacerdos paratus. Rom.*) " Sacerdos celebraturus Missam, prævia confessione sacramentali, quando opus est, et saltem Matutino cum Laudibus absoluto, orationi aliquantulum vacet, et orationes pro temporis opportunitate dicat. Deinde accedit ad locum in sacristia, vel alibi præparatum, ubi paramenta, aliaque ad celebrationem necessaria habentur: accipit Missale, perquirit Missam, perlegit, et signacula ordinat ad ea quæ dicturus est. Postea lavat manus, dicens orationem. ' Da, Domine, virtutem manibus meis ad abstergendam omnem maculam: ut sine pollutione mentis et corporis valeam tibi servire.' "

The Roman Missal can be procured by any one: I shall therefore refer the reader to it, and recommend him to read carefully, if he wishes to understand the subject, the " Ritus servandus in Celebration Missæ," at the beginning of the book, from which the above is extracted.

SARUM.

sacris vestibus dicat cutor officii missam dicat hanc orationem :

cum suis ministris se induant.⁴ Dum induit se sacerdos vestibus dicat hunc hymnum :

VENI Creator spiritus: mentes tuorum visita: imple superna gratia, quæ tu creasti pectora. *etc.*

⋮. Emitte spiritum tuum et creabuntur.

R. Et renovabis faciem terræ.

Oratio.

DEUS cui omne cor patet et omnis voluntas loquitur, et quem nullum latet secretum : purifica per infusionem sancti Spiritus cogitationes cordis nostri: ut perfecte te diligere et digne

EBOR.

missam dicat hanc orationem :

LARGIRE sensibus nostris omnipotens Pater: ut sicut hic abluuntur inquinationa manuum, ita a

⁴ "Et si episcopus celebraverit tres habeat diaconos et tres subdiaconos ad minus in omni festo ix. lec. et in omnibus dominicis quando ipse exequitur officium divinum. In die vero Pentecostes et in die cœnæ, viij. diaconos habeat, et viij. subdiaconos et tres acolytos. In aliis vero duplicitibus festis per annum quinque habeat diaconos tantum, et quinque subdiaconos, et tres acolytos. In die vero paraseeves unum solum habeat diaconum." *Rubr. Miss. Baugor.*

⁵ (*Signat se signo Crucis. Rom.*) Ante omnem actum manus pingat Crucem. *S. Hieron. Epist. 22. ad Eust. c. 16.* et manu dextera, *ex Justino Martyre ad Orthod. resp. ad quæst. 118.* et manu plena, hoc est, quinque digitis ad quinque vulnera Christi significanda: *Durand. lib. ii. cap. 46.* sed tribus digitis signum Crucis exprimendum esse, quia sub invocatione Trinitatis imprimitur, aiebat *Inuoc. III. lib. ii. cap. 45.* et memorat *Leo IV. Epist. ad Episcopos:* ita ut manus a superiori descendat in inferius, et a dextera transeat ad sinistram: quia Christus de Cœlo descendit in Terram, et a Judæis transivit ad Gentiles. Quidam tamen, *subdit ille*, a sinistra producunt in dexteram, quia de miseria transire debemus ad gloriam, sicut et Christus de morte transivit ad vitam. *Carauti Thes. Sac. Rituum*, tom. i. p. 170. And so S. Ambrose has said; that we make the sign of the Cross upon our forehead, that we may always be bold to confess: upon our breast, that we may remember to love: upon our arm, that we may be ready at all times to work.

HERFORD.

*albam: stans ante altare incipiat
Antiphonam :*

ROM.

*reverentia signat se signo Cru-
cis⁵ a fronte ad pectus, et clara
voce dicit :*

IN nomine Patris, et Filii, et
Spiritus sancti. Amen.

Venerable Bede insists strongly upon the necessity of teaching the people to use this Sign: he is writing to Archbishop Egbert. “Eorum quoque, qui in populari adhuc vita continentur, solicitam te necesse est curam gerere, ut—sufficientes eis doctores vitae salutaris adhibere memineris, et hoc eos inter alia discere facias, quibus operibus maxime Deo placere, a quibus se debeat, qui Deo placere desiderant, abstinere peccatis,—qua divinam clementiam supplicantes debeat devotione precari, quam frequenti diligentia signaculo se dominicæ crucis, suaque omnia adversum continuas immundorum spirituum insidias, necesse habeant munire, &c.” *Bedæ. Op. Hist. Minora*, p. 221. We must not forget that Bede lived in an age which had not experienced the abuse, and knew only the proper use of this Holy Sign. As we go on, the reader will observe too many evidences of its superstitious repetition. It is now removed altogether from the Liturgy of the Church of England, and far better is it that it should be so, than that it should be a means by which people might ignorantly be led to stumble and to take offence. The proper use of the sign of the Cross may well be defended upon many grounds, but not an improper excess.

Speaking in another place, upon this sign of the Cross, *Merati* says in his additions to *Garantus*, tom. ii. p. 108. “Aliqui illud tribus digitis dextræ manus efformant sub invocatione Sanctissimæ Trinitatis, alii vero duobus, ad duas Christi naturas et voluntates contra Monophysitas et Monothelitas indicandas.”

SARUM.

laudare mereamur.

Per Christum.

BANGOR.

Per Domi-
num. In uni-
tate ejusdem.

EBOR.

te mundentur pollutio-
nes mentium,⁶ et cres-
cat in nobis augmen-
tum sanctorum virtu-
tum. Per.*Deinde sequatur Antiph.***I**NTROIBO⁸ ad al-
tare.*An.***I**NTROIBO ad al-
tare.*Deinde seq.**Ps. Judica me⁹ Deus,
et discerne.**Totus psalmus dicatur
cum Gloria patri.**Deinde dicitur ant.***I**NTROIBO ad al-
tare Dei, ad Deum
qui lætificat juventu-
tem meam.*Ps. Judica.**Gloria patri :
sicut erat.**Ant.***I**NTROI-
BO.*Ps. Judica me Deus.**et discerne.**Cum Gloria patri.*

⁶ (*Mentium. Ebor.*) My edition has, by a plain typographical error, *manuum.*

⁷ (*Junctis manibus. Rom.*) “In Missa semper ita persistit, nisi quidpiam agendum impeditat.” *Le Brun.* *Explicatio Missæ.* tom. i. p. 51.

⁸ (*Introibo. Sarum.*) This very ancient commencement of the Service was most appropriate. Some writers have said that S. Ambrose alludes to it, as being used in his time in the Church of Milan: but, as others, Bona and Gavantus, &c. have pointed out, that Father in the place cited, is not treating of the Communion, but of the Newly-baptized, of Baptism, and Confirmation. “His abluta plebs” are his words, “dives insignibus ad Christi contendit Altaria dicens, *Introibo, &c.*” There is no doubt however that it was very anciently used in this place, for *Micrologus* speaks of it, cap. 23. “Paratus, sacerdos venit ad Altare dicens Antiphonam.” It is remarkable that it is not appointed to be said in the Bangor Use.

⁹ (*Judica me. Sar.*) Up to the earliest ages of which any record remains, we find examples of commencing the Liturgy with a Psalm: but it was not universal; and for the four first Centuries at least there was a variety of practice. It is not possible to decide what Psalms in particular were appointed, or even whether in the first ages the later practice of a fixed Psalm

HERFORD.

ROM.

INTROIBO ad altare.

*Deinde junctis manibus⁷ ante pectus, incipit Antiph.*INTROIBO ad altare Dei.
Ministri R. Ad Deum qui lætificat juventutem meam.*Postea alternatin cum ministris dicit sequentem Psalmum 42.*

Ps. Judica me.

Judica me Deus.

Totus psalmus dicatur cum Gloria Patri.

Cum Gloria Patri.

Sequitur Antiphona.

*S. repetit antiphonam.*INTROIBO ad altare Dei,
ad Deum qui lætificat juventutem meam.INTROIBO ad altare Dei.
R. Ad Deum qui lætificat juventutem meam.*Signat se dicens v.*

was observed. *Durand* says, lib. iv. cap. 7. that Pope Coelestin I. originally appointed this particular psalm. This would have been about the year 430. But it would seem, from an old *Ordo Romanus*, that this Pope merely ratified the custom of saying a Psalm. A French Ritualist of little or no authority, *Claude de Vert*, (of some considerable learning, but excessive prejudice towards many peculiar conceits of his own,) has laid it down that the custom of saying this psalm *Judica* is not older than the XIVth Century. In which he is confuted by innumerable examples to the contrary: and we may conclude that, (though we cannot fix it either to the time of Pope Cœlestine or of S. Ambrose, to whom also the institution of it has been attributed, yet) for more than 500 years, it had been so used in this part of the Liturgy. The Mozarabic Liturgy appoints the Antiphon, but omits the Psalm. This the Church of Rome now follows, in Masses for the dead, and during the days between Passion Sunday and Easter Eve: at which season the question would be inappropriate, “Quare tristis es, anima mea: et quare conturbas me?” But the Antiphon is not omitted: which is said to be, because though the signs of joy are not allowed at such times, yet the reason and the motive may nevertheless be spoken of: and therefore the Priest may still say: “Introibo ad altare Dei, ad Deum qui lætificat juventutem meam.”

SARUM.

KYRIE eleison.
Christe eleison.
Kyrie eleison.

PATER noster. Ave
maria.

BANGOR.

KYRIE eleison.
Christe elei-
son. Kyrie e-
leison.

PATER
noster.

EBOR.

KYRIE eleison.
Christe eleison.
Kyrie eleison.

PATER noster. Et
ne nos. Ostende
nobis domine. Sacer-
dotes tui induantur.
Domine exaudi. Et
clamor. Dominus vo-
biscum.

Oratio.

ACTIONES nos-
tras quæsumus
Domine aspirando
præveni, et adjuvando
prosequere: ut cuncta
nostra operatio et a te
semper incipiat et per
te cœpta finiatur. Per
Dominum nostrum.

AURES tuæ pieta-
tis, mitissime
Deus, inclina precibus
meis et gratia sancti
Spiritus illumina cor
meum: ut tuis mysteriis
digne ministrare, teque
eterna caritate diligere,
et sempiterna gaudia
percipere merear. Per
Christum.

*Sacerdos introiens ad
altare et procedentibus
in ordine ministris di-
cat:*

*His finitis et officio missæ inchoato cum
post officium Gloria patri incipitur: ac-
cedat sacerdos cum suis ministris ad gra-
dum altaris, et dicat ipse confessionem*

HERFORD.

KYRIE eleison. Christe eleison. Kyrie eleison.

ROM.

Adjutorium nostrum in nomine Domini.
R. Qui fecit cœlum et terram.

PATER noster. Et ne nos. Sed libera. Ostende nobis Domine misericordiam tuam. Et salutare tuum da nobis. Domine Deus virtutum converte nos. Et ostende faciem tuam et salvi erimus. Domine exaudi orationem meam. Et clamor meus ad te veniat. Dominus vobis. Et eum spiritu tuo. Oremus.

Oratio.

ACTIONES nostras quæsumus Domine aspirando præveni, et adjuvando prosequere, ut euncta nostra operatio et a te semper incepit et per te cœpta finiatur. Per.

Tunc sacerdos stans ante gradum altaris dicat :

Deinde junctis manibus, profunde inclinatus facit confessionem :

SARUM.

BANGOR.

EBOR.

(capite inclinato. Bangor.) diacono assistente a dextris, et subdiacono a sinistris
hoc modo incipiendo:

ET ne nos. Sed libera. Confitemini
Domino quoniam bonus. Quoniam
in sæculum misericordia ejus.

Versus.

CONFITEMINI
Domino quoniam
bonus. Quoniam in
sæculum misericordia
ejus.

Sacerdos dicat:

CONFITEOR¹⁰ Deo, beatæ mariæ,
omnibus sanctis, et vobis: (quia
Sar.) peccavi nimis cogitatione, locu-
tione, et opere mea culpa: precor sanc-
tam mariam, omnes sanctos Dei,¹¹ et
vos orare pro me.

CONFITEOR Deo,
et beatæ mariæ,
et omnibus sanctis et
vobis fratres: quia ego
peccator peccavi nimis,
corde, ore, opere, omis-
sione, mea culpa. Ideo
precor gloriosam Dei
genetricem mariam, et
omnes sanctos Dei, et
vos orare pro me.

¹⁰ “ There or he tho messe bigynne,
Wil he meke him for his synne:
Till alle yo folk he shrynes him thare,
Of alle her synnes lesse and mare:
So dos tho clerk a gayn to him,
Shryuen hom there of al hor syn.
And askes god forgyuenes,
Or then bigynnen to here tho mes.”

The above is taken from a very curious MS. in the Museum Library, *Ms. Bibl. Reg. 17. B. xvi. xvij.* consisting of long rubries, and prayers relating to the Liturgy, all in English verse. I shall make several extracts from it as we proceed. I shall in future refer to it as *Museum MS.*

¹¹ (*Precor omnes sanctos Dei. Sar.*) It is one thing to assert that the Saints can hear our prayers, if we address them; it is another to believe that they offer up for us, and for the Church of which they are members, prayers and intercession. That the Almighty does listen graciously to the prayers of His Saints we know from the Sacred Scriptures. In Genesis, Abimelech, we read, was told that if he restored to Abraham his wife, the

HERFORD.

ROM.

CONFITEMINI Domino quoniam bonus. Quoniam in sæculum misericordia ejus. *Tunc inclinet se ad altare junctis manibus et dicat :*

CONFITEOR *etc.*

CONFITEOR Deo omnipotenti, beatæ Mariæ semper virginis, beato Michaeli Archangelo, beato Joanni Baptiste, sanctis Apostolis Petro et Paulo, omnibus Sanctis, et vobis fratres : quia peccavi nimis cogitatione, verbo, et opere, *Percutit sibi pectus ter, dicens*;¹² mea culpa, mea culpa, mea maxima culpa. Ideo precor beatam Mariam semper virginem, beatum Michaelum Archangelum, beatum Joannem

Patriarch should pray for him, and he should live. “ Now, therefore, restore the man his wife ; for he is a prophet : and he shall pray for thee, and thou shalt live.” ch. xx. ver. 7. And again, in the 42nd ch. of Job, ver. 7, Eliphaz and his two friends, against whom the wrath of the Lord was kindled, are directed to “ go to My servant Job,—and My servant Job shall pray for you : for him will I accept.”

In the most ancient offices we find forms of confession and absolution before the more solemn part of the Liturgy : they are in the Liturgy of S. James, which next to the Clementine, is without doubt, the oldest extant. The Gallican Liturgy contains them, under another name, *Apologia* : and several forms are in the Sacramentary of S. Gregory. The present form in the Roman Missal, it will be observed varies very materially from the Sarum and other English Uses. It has been ascribed, that is, in its present state to Pope Damasus : but without any authority, as the best commentators allow. Archbishop Egbert alludes to the English form of confession, in his Penitential.

¹² (*Percutit sibi. Rom.*) “ Tunsio pectoris obtritio cordis.” *S. Augustin.* Enar. 2. In Psal. 31.

SARUM.

BANGOR.

EBOR.

Ministri respondeant.

MISEREATUR vestri omnipotens Deus, et dimittat vobis omnia peccata vestra, liberet vos ab omni malo, conservet et confirmet in bono, et ad vitam perducat æternam.

Sacerdos. Amen. R. Amen.

MISEREATUR vestri omnipotens Deus: et dimittat vobis omnia peccata vestra: liberet vos ab omni malo, servet et confirmet in omni opere bono et perducat vos ad vitam æternam.

*Et postea dicant:***CONFITEOR.***Et postea:***CONFITEOR.**
ad sacerdotem:

Quo dicto, dicat sacerdos, Misereatur, ut supra.

tunc ministri
respondeant:
Amen.

Deinde dicat sacerdos:

Deinde erec-
tus signet se
in facie dicen-
do absolutio-
nem:

ABSOLUTIONEM et remissionem omnium peccatorum vestrorum, spatium veræ penitentiæ, (et, Sar.) emendationem vitæ, gratiam et consolationem sancti Spiritus, tribuat vobis omnipotens et misericors Dominus.

Ministri respondeant, Amen. Amen.

¹² (*Tibi pater. Rom.*) This, even though a Bishop, or the Pope himself, be present. “Cum minister, et qui intersunt (etiam si ibi fuerit Summus

HERFORD.

ROM.

Baptistam, sanctos Apostolos Petrum et Paulum, omnes Sanctos, et vos fratres, orare pro me ad Dominum Deum nostrum.

Ministri lk.

MISEREATUR.

MISEREATUR tui omnipotens Deus, et dismissis peccatis tuis, perducat te ad vitam aeternam.

Sacerdos dicit, Amen, et erigit se.

Deinde ministri repetunt Confessionem: et ubi a Sacerdote dicebatur, vobis fratres, et, vos fratres, a ministris dicitur tibi pater,¹³ et, te pater.

Postea Sacerdos junctis manibus facit absolutionem, dicens:

MISEREATUR vestri. etc.

ABSOLUTIONEM.

Signat se signo Crucis, dicens: I NDULGENTIAM, absolutionem, et remissionem peccatorum nostrorum, tribuat nobis omnipotens et misericors Dominus. lk. Amen.

Pontifex) respondent *Confiteor*, dicunt *tibi pater*, et, *te pater*, aliquantulum conversi ad celebrantem.” *Ritus Celebr. Miss. Tit. iii. 9.*

SARUM.

Deinde (statim. Bangor.) dicat
sacerdos ^{v.}¹⁴

BANGOR.

EBOR.

Factaque ante gradus
altaris confessione as-
cendat ad altare dicens:

ADJUTORIUM nostrum in nomine
Domini. Qui fecit cœlum et ter-
ram. Sit nomen Domini benedictum.
Ex hoc, nunc, et usque in sæculum.
Oremus.

DEUS tu conver-
sus vivificabis
nos. Et plebs tua læ-
tabitur in te. Ostende
nobis Domine. etc. Sa-
cerdotes tui. Domine
Deus virtutum. Do-
mine exaudi orationem
meam. Et clamor
meus ad te veniat. Do-
minus vobiscum.

Deinde finitis precibus,
sacerdos deosculetur¹⁵
diaconum et subdiaco-
num ita dicens:

Deinde statim
sacerdos deos-
culetur diaco-
num et postea
subdiaconum
dicens:

HABETE osculum pacis et dilec-
tionis: ut apti sitis sacrosancto
altari ad perficiendum altaris Domini
officia divina. ministerio.

*Et hoc semper observetur per totum
annum: nisi tantum in missis pro de-
functis et in tribus proximis feriis ante
pascha. His itaque peractis: cerofe-*

¹⁴ "Et sciendum est quod quicunque sacerdos officium exequatur: semper episcopus si præsens fuerit ad gradum chori dicat: Confiteor, Misereatur, et Absolutionem." *Rubr. Miss. Sar.*

¹⁵ This ceremony is peculiar in this place to the Sarum and Bangor Churches: nor is it easy to say from whence it was introduced. Certainly,

HERFORD.

His dictis ascendat gradum di- . Et inclinatus prosequitur : cens :

—
 v. D EUS tu conversus vivificabis nos. R. Et plebs tua lætabitur in te. v. Ostende nobis Domine misericordiam tuam. R. Et salutare tuum da nobis. Sacerdotes tui induantur iustitia. Et sancti tui exultent. Ab occultis meis munda me Domine. Et ab alienis parce servo tuo. Sancta Dei genitrix virgo semper Maria. Intercede pro nobis. Domine Deus virtutum converte nos. Et ostende faciem. Domine exaudi orationem meam. Et clamor meus ad te veniat. Dominus vobiscum. Et cum spiritu tuo.

ROM.

—
 v. Domine exaudi orationem meam. R. Et clamor meus ad te veniat. v. Dominus vobiscum. R. Et cum spiritu tuo.

there was not an exact agreement as to the giving of the Kiss in the ancient Missals: having sprung from Apostolic usage, it varied totally at last from its original design, and was appointed to be given sometimes at one time, sometimes at another. The Apostolical Constitutions, lib. ii. cap. 61, and S. Justin, *Apolog.* 2, attach it to the Oblation, which immediately succeeded: so also the 19th Canon of the Council of Laodicea. A. D. 366.

SARUM.

BANGOR.

EBOR.

rarii candelabra cum cereis ad gradum altaris dimittant: deinde accedat sacerdos ad altare, et dicat in medio altaris tacita voce inclinatoque corpore et junctis manibus:
Oremus.

Inclinatus ad altare dicat devote et submisse:

Oratio.

AUFER a nobis¹⁶ (quæsumus, *Bangor*) Domine cunctas iniquitates nostras: ut ad sancta sanctorum puris mentibus mereamur (mereamur puris mentibus, *Bangor*) introire. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. (Amen. *Bangor*.)

Tunc erigat se sacerdos et osculetur altare, et hoc in medio, et signet se in sua facie ita dicens:

IN nomine Patris et **I**N nomine Filii et Spiritus sancti. Amen. **I**N nomine Patris et Filii.

AUFER a nobis Domine omnes iniquitates nostras, ut ad sancta sanctorum mereamur puris mentibus introire. Per Christum Dominum nostrum.

Erectus signet se:

¹⁶ (*a nobis*. Sar.) There seems to be some doubt, say the ritualists, whether this prayer includes the people, as well as the Priest, or whether the assistant Deacon only is intended, who alone with the Priest goes to the Altar. The next prayer, in the Roman Use, concludes in the singular number, “ut indulgere digneris omnia peccata mea.”

Le Brun says: “Si sedulo res perpendatur enim pro se tantum orare perspicitur: et multitudinis quidem numero tantum ntitur, quod una cum ipso Diaconus quoque ad Altare ascendere debet.” *Tom. i. p. 68.*

¹⁷ It was a common practice, as every reader of Ecclesiastical History must know, for the primitive Christians to meet for the Offering and Service of the Communion, not only in any secret place, but especially in those places where martyrs had suffered, or where their remains were buried. Hence, after the persecutions ceased, and leave was given that Churches might openly be frequented, not unnaturally the first Churches were built, in places which they had already been thus accustomed to assemble in or near. And thus, probably arose that superstitious and general custom, that no Church should be consecrated without relics of the Martyrs. Cardinal Bona labours to prove that it is as early as before the Council of Nice, and

HEREFORD.

ROM.

Tunc inclinet se ad altare junc-
tis manibus et dicat :
Oremus.

*Et extendens ac jungens ma-
nus, clara voce dicit, Oremus,
et ascendens ad altare, dicit
secreto :*

AUFER a nobis Domine cunctas iniquitates nostras, ut ad sancta sanctorum puris mentibus servire mereamur et introire. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

AUFER a nobis, quæsu-
mus Domine, iniquitates
nostras: ut ad Sancta sancto-
rum puris mereamur mentibus
introire. Per Christum Do-
minum nostrum. Amen.

*Hic se erigendo osculetur al-
tare.*

*Deinde manibus junctis super
altare, inclinatus dicit :*

ORAMUS te, Domine,
per merita Sanctorum
tuorum, *Osculatur altare in
medio, quorum reliquæ¹⁷ hic*

there can be no doubt that it is very ancient, and soon passed into a law. For not to insist upon passages from *S. Ambrose*, (Epist. 54:) from *S. Jerome*, and *S. Augustin*, (which are appealed to by most writers upon the subject, and which unquestionably prove how widely the practice was spreading in their respective times,) it was ordered by the 7th Canon of the Second Council of Nice, that no Bishop should consecrate any Church or Altar, on pain of deposition, unless Relics were placed under it: “ut qui Ecclesiasticas traditiones transgressus est.”

The Roman Pontifical orders: “ Scro ante diem dedicationis, Pontifex parat reliquias, ponens eas in decenti et mundo vasculo, cum tribus granis thuris; sigillans ipsum vasculum diligenter, &c.”

In the year 816, the second Canon of the Council of Chalcuith, is “ De modo conserandi ecclesias:” and orders: “ Postea eucharistia, quæ ab episcopo per idem ministerium conseratur, cum aliis reliquiis condatur in capsula, ac servetur in eadem basilica. Et si alias reliquias intimare non potest, tamen hoc maxime proficere potest, quia corpus et sanguis est Domini nostri Jesu Christi.” *Wilkins. Concilia. tom. i. p. 169.* There is a reference in one of the Canons of a Council at Oxford, A. D. 1222, to a custom

Deinde ponat diaconus thus in thuribulum et dicat prius sacerdoti:

DOMINUS. Ab ipso benedicatur:
in ejus honore cremabitur. In
nomine Patris. etc.

Tunc diaconus ei thuribulum tradens
deosculetur manum ejus. Et ipse sa-
cerdos thurifecet¹⁸ medium altaris, et
utrumque cornu altaris. Deinde ab ipso
diacono ipse sacerdos thurifecetur: et pos-
tea textum ministerio subdiaconi sacerdos
deosculetur. His itaque gestis in dextro
cornu¹⁹ altaris cum diacono et subdia-
cono,

Et in dextro cornu altaris,

which also prevailed: viz. of placing the *Corporals* under Altars: “*Vetera vero corporalia, quæ non fuerint idonea in altaribus, quando consecrantur, loco reliquiarum reponantur, vel in præsentia archidiaconi comburantur.*” *Wilkins.* tom. i. p. 587. Upon this statute Lyndwood says, “*Loco reliquiarum. Sine quibus Altaria consecrari non debent.*” Lib. iii. Tit. 26. But he goes on to say that they are not of the substance of the Consecration. “*Unde licet Reliquie non sint de substantia Consecrationis Altaris, ubi tamen non habentur Reliquiæ, solent aliqui apponere Corpus Christi.*” This is according to the old decree above, of the Council of Chalciuth. But Lyndwood cites several authorities why such a practice was not to be allowed. “*Non decere corpus Domini recondi in altari.*” (Lyndwood does not say this, but refers to *Hostiensis, in summa*, and I suppose it to be the place intended. See also *Durant, De rit.* lib. i. cap. xxv.) “*Alia ratio est, quia Corpus Christi est cibus animæ: item, quia non debet servari, nisi ad opus infirmorum: et non debet poni ad alium usum quam ad eum pro quo institutum est, nam debet comediri.*—*Quod tamen Corporale vel ejus pars detur in Consecratione altaris loco reliquiarum, non videtur esse absurdum.*” From this gloss of Lyndwood, if such was required in the case, we might learn how unfounded is the remark which *Johnson* (*Eccles. Laws*, vol. i. 816,) makes upon the Canon of Chalciuth; that in it, “*the Eucharistic symbols are set on a level with the relics of the Saints, and scarce that neither.*” He

HERFORD.

Rom.

sunt, et omnium Sanctorum :
ut indulgere digneris omnia
peccata mea. Amen.

*In Missa solemni, Celebrans
antequam legat introitum, be-
nedicit incensum, dicens :*

AB illo bene ✠ dicaris, in
cujus honore cremaberis.
Amen.

*Et accepto thuribulo a Diacono,
incensat altare, nihil dicens.
Postea Diaconus recepto thuri-
bulo a Celebrante, incenset illum
tantum.*

*Et tunc accedat ad dextrum
cornu altaris et dicat:*

utterly mistook the object of the Canon : which is to be wondered at in a writer of so great a reputation.

¹⁸ (*Thurifex. Sar.*) The use of incense, in the public services of the Church, is of the most remote antiquity : and it was among the few offerings which were allowed to be made at the Altar, *to be there consumed*, as appears from the 2nd of the Apostolical Canons. The object of burning incense seems to be well expressed in the prayer which is found in the Liturgy of S. John Chrysostom, according to the translation in Goar's Collection. “ *Incensum tibi offerimus Christe Deus in odorem suavitatis spiritualis, quem suscipe Domine in sanctum et supercœleste ac intellectuale tuum altare, et repende nobis abundantes tuas miseraciones, et illas largire nobis servis tuis.* ” *Goar. Rituale Græc.* p. 62.

¹⁹ In examining the old Uses, the student will find much confusion, if he takes for a guide the modern Roman books, respecting the right and the left corner of the Altar. In the rubric above and in other places of the English Liturgies, the right, means the *Epistle* side, and the left, the *Gospel* side. In all the old Roman Orders, such was the custom, up to the end of the XVth Century : taking it to be the right hand and the left of the officiating Priest ; as well as of those who were standing by. But in the year 1485 the Roman Pontifical, published at Venice, laid down as a rule, that the right hand and the left were to be taken from the Crucifix upon the

Officium missæ²⁰ usque ad orationem prosequatur: vel usque ad Gloria in excelsis: quando dicitur. Et post officium et psalmum repetatur officium: et postea dicitur Gloria patri et sicut erat. Tertio repetatur officium: sequatur Kyrie.²²

dicat officium.²¹ Et postea incenset altare. Repetatur officium et postea dicitur Gloria Patri. Sicut erat. Deinde repetatur offici-

Altar: by which new arrangement of course the old was entirely reversed. See on this subject especially, *Sala's notes to Bona*, tom. iii. p. 49, and *Le Brun*, tom. i. p. 77. Note. Thus, the general rubrie of the present Roman Missal, makes an explanation, which since the adoption of the new rule has been indispensable. “ Accedit ad cornu ejus sinistrum, id est, *Epistolæ: ubi stans, incipit Introitum, &c.*” *Ritus Celebr. Tit. iv. 2.*

²⁰ “ — When thou thus has done,
Upon thi fete thou stande up sone :
For bi this tyme als I gesse,
The prist begynnes office of messe :
Or ellis he standes turnande his boke,
At tho south auter noke.” *Museum MS.*

²¹ (*Officium. Ebor.*) More commonly called in later years, the *Introit*, “ *Introitus:*” as in the Roman Use. In the Milan or Ambrosian Missal, it is called *Ingressa*. For an account of its first Institution and other particulars, the student should consult *Bona*, tom. ii. p. 48, and *Gerbert. de Musica*, tom. i. p. 100. These *Introits*, as is well known, were retained in the first revised Liturgy of K. Edw. VI. They kept their old name of *Introit*, long after the real reason why they were so called, had ceased: viz. because they were sung at the entrance or approach of the Priest to the Altar. Upon which point all the old writers agree. See *Micrologus* cap. i. *Rupert. de divinis Off.* cap. 28, *Rabau. cap. 23.* It was to the *Introit* that the *Tropes* were added, when they were introduced. “ *Tropus proprie est quidam versiculus, qui in præcipuis festivitatibus cantatur immediate ante introitum, quasi quoddam præambulum, et continuatio ipsius introitus.*” *Durand. lib. iv. cap. 5.*

²² (*Sequitur Kyrie. Sar.*) “ *Post repetitionem officii principalis rector chori officium missæ a cantore querere debet: deinde illud socio suo intimare: et postea simul incipere, et similiter Kyrie: Sequentia: Offertorium: Sanctus: Agnus: et Communio querantur, intimentur et incipiatur.*” *Rubr. Miss. Sar.*

In this rubric we have two Officers of the Choir mentioned: the *Cantor*, and the *Rector Chori*. There seems to have been two of the last-named:

HERFORD.

ADJUTORIUM nostrum in nomine Domini. Qui fecit cœlum et terram. Sit nomen Domini benedictum. Ex hoc nunc et usque in sæculum.
Deinde incipiatur officium missæ :
Repetatur officium et Gloria patri. Sicut erat.

Tertio repetatur officium : dicto

ROM.

Deinde Celebrans signans se signo Crucis incipit introitum : Quo finito, junctis manibus alternatim cum ministris dicit :

KYRIE eleison. Kyrie eleison. Kyrie eleison.

who probably answer to the precentor and succentor of S. Isidore : “ *Cantor vocatur, quia vocem modulatur in cantu. Hujus duo genera dicuntur in arte musica ; præcentor et succentor : præcentor scilicet, qui vocem præmittit in cantu, succentor autem qui subsequenter canendo respondet.* ” *Apud Gratian. Dist. xxi. c. 1.* If there were then two of these, they probably stood each at the end of his own side of the choir, and having received the necessary information from the *Cantor*, who as we shall see, stood in the centre, passed it on to his companions. *Amalarius* speaks of one *Præcentor* as opposed to the *Succentores*. “ *Præcentor in primo ordine finit responsoriū. Succentores vero eodem modo respondent. Dein præcentor canit versum, &c.* ” *De ord. Antiph. cap. 18. Bibl. Patrum Auct. tom. i. p. 527.*

The name “ *Rector Chori* ” appears to have been, if not peculiar to England, yet chiefly adopted in her Churches. *Du Cange* cites but one authority for it, from a *Sarum Breviary* : and explains it to be the same as “ *Cantor* :” in which I cannot but believe him to be in error, though I speak with hesitation against so great a writer. But the Rubric at the head of this note, seems to put the matter beyond a doubt : and to it I shall add the following account of the duties of the *Cantor*. First, from the Statutes of *Archbishop Lanfranc* : cap. v. with which agrees almost in word a statute of *Evesham Monastery* : *Dugdale. Monast. vol. ii. p. 39.* “ *De Cantore. Quicunque lecturus aut cantatus est aliquid, si necesse habet ab eo prinsquam incipiat debet auscultare.—Si quis oblivious non incœperit, cum incipere debet responsoriū, aut antiphonam, aut aliud hujusmodi, ipse debet esse provisus, atque paratus, ut sine mora, quod incipiendum erat, incipiat, vel eum, qui fallendo deviaverat, in viam reducat : ad ipsius arbitrium cantus incipitur, elevatur, remittitur ; nulli licet cantum levare, nisi ipse prius incipiat.—Cantor vero, in medio eorum debet esse in choro :—et in dextro choro semper sit.* ” *Laufrensi Opera, p. 279.* Again, from the *Consuetudinary of the Church of Lichfield, A.D. 1294.* “ *Cantoris officium est chorū in cantum elevatione et depressione regere, et in omni duplice festo lectionis legendas canonicas præsentibus injungere, chronica paschalia singulis annis mutare, cantores, lectores, et ministros altaris, in tabula or-*

SARUM.

BANGOR.

EBOR.

um: Kyrie eleyson *ijj.*²³
 Christe eleyson *ijj.*
 Kyrie eleyson *ijj.*

*His finitis et officio mis-
 se inchoato, cum post
 officium, Gloria Patri,
 incipitur: tunc acce-*

dinare.—Præterea in majoribus duplicitibus festis teneter interesse regimini chori ad missam cum cæteris rectoribus chori. Item in omnibus duplicitibus festis rectores chori de cantibus injungendis et incipiendis tenetur instruere.”

Wilkins. Concilia. tom. i. p. 498.

The *Cantor* was in this sense the same as the *Præcentor*, properly so called; and not (as I have suggested above) as *Isidore* uses the word, for a *Rector chori*: in which sense there might be more than one *Præcentor*, as we find in an Epistle of *Hincmar*, cited by *Du Cange*, verb. *Præcentor*. “*Præcentores, qui chorū utrinque regunt, sunt duces, &c.*” But the *Præcentor* strictly was “*Primus Cantorum in Ecclesia; qui Cantoribus præest.*” The Bishop of *Salisbury* is *Precentor* of the College of Bishops: according to *Lyndwood*. “*Habet namque Archiepiscopus Cantuarieus in Collegio Episcoporum Episcopos, Loulinensem Decanum — Sarisburiensem Præcentorem.*” lib. v. tit. 15. *Eterna. v. tanquam.* Compare also, lib. ii. tit. 3. verb. usum *Sarum*. It has been supposed that this distinction arose from the fame of the *Salisbury Use*, and *Bp. Osmund*. Thomas *Archbishop of York*, A.D. 1100, is said to have first appointed a *Præcentor* in that Cathedral. *Collier. Ecc. Hist.* vol. i. p. 281.

A curious collection of signals by which the *Cantor* made known his will to the *Choir*, are given by *Gerbert*, from some foreign Monastic Statutes. These are all to be made by various movements of the hand and fingers. *De Musica sacra*, tom. i. p. 310, note a.

²³ (*Kyrie eleison, ijj. Ebor.*) From the 6th ch. of the 8th book of the Apostolical Constitutions, (quoted by *Le Brun*, vol. i. p. 80) it appears that the prayer, “*Kyrie eleison.*” was used by the faithful in behalf of the *Catechumens*, “*that God would be pleased to illumine them with the light of His Gospel, and fill them with the grace of His Holy Spirit.*” This prayer of course occurred before the dismissal of the *Catechumens*, and the beginning of the solemn part, the *Canon*.

In the *Ritualists*, (vide especially *Durant*) may be found many reasons, some sufficiently fanciful, why these *Kyrie* were retained in the *Greek*, and not translated into *Latin*. I shall give the observation of *Cardinal Bona* upon the point. “*Dicunt Latini in Missa Kyrie eleison Graece, dicunt etiam Hebraice Amen, Alleluiah, Sabaoth, et Osanna: quia fortassis sic ab initio Ecclesiasticarum precum Institutores voces istas usurparunt, ut ostenderent unam esse Ecclesiam, quæ ex Hebrais, et Græcis primum, deinde ex Latinis*

HERFORD.

officio sequitur, Kyrie eleyon.
Christe eleyon. Kyrie eleyon.
ij.

ROM.

Christe eleïson. Christe eleï-
son. Christe eleïson. Kyrie
eleïson. Kyrie eleïson. Kyrie
eleïson.

coadunata est: vel quia mysteria nostræ fidei tribus hisce linguis ab Apostolis et Evangelistis, eorumque immediatis successoribus conscripta fuerunt: quæ quidem linguæ in titulo crucis quodammodo consecratæ sunt. Sed quæcumque fuerit causa hujus institutionis, certissimum est eam antiquissimam esse." *Tom. iii. p. 73.*

Upon certain Festivals these *Kyrie* were appointed in the English Church to be sung with several verses added to the original words. As, for example, upon the double feasts were to be sung either "Kyrie rex genitor:" or, "Kyrie fons bonitatis:" or, "Kyrie omnipotens pater," with two or three others, at the choice of the Precentor. Upon the Feast of the Epiphany was appointed always, "Kyrie fons bonitatis." Upon S. Michael's day, "Kyrie rex splendens," which also was appointed for S. Dunstan's day, who is said to have heard it sung by Angels in a dream. Below are two of these *Kyrie*.

Kyrie, rex genitor ingenite vera essentia, eleyson.
Kyrie, luminis fons, rerumque conditor, eleyson.
Kyrie, qui nos tuæ imaginis signasti specie, eleyson.
Christe, Dei forma humana particeps, eleyson.
Christe, lux oriens, per quem sunt omnia, eleyson.
Christe, quia perfecta es sapientia, eleyson.
Kyrie, spiritus vivifice, vitæ vis, eleyson.
Kyrie, utriusque vapor, in quo cuncta, eleyson.
Kyrie expurgator scelerum, et largitor gratiæ, quæsumus propter nostras
offensas noli nos relinquere, O consolator dolentis animæ, eleyson.

2.

Kyrie, omnipotens pater ingenite nobis miseris, eleyson.
Kyrie, qui proprio plasma tuum filio redemisti, eleyson.
Kyrie, adonai nostra dele crimina plebique tuo, eleyson.
Christe, splendor gloriæ, patrisque figura substantiæ, eleyson.
Christe, patris qui mundum præcepto salvasti nobis, eleyson.
Christe, salus hominum vitaque æterna angelorum, eleyson.
Kyrie, spiritus paraclite largitor veniæ nobis, eleyson.
Kyrie fons misericordiæ septiformis gratiæ, eleyson.
Kyrie, indulctor piissime procedens ab utroque, charismatum dator largis-
sime, doctor vivifice, clemens, eleyson.

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dant ministri ad altare ordinatim: primo ceroferarii duo pariter incedentes; deinde thuribularii: post, subdiaconus: exinde diaconus, post eum sacerdos: diacono et subdiacono casulis induitis.²⁴ Quo facto sacerdos et sui ministri in sedibus paratis se recipiant, et expectent usque ad Gloria in excelsis: quod incipiatur semper in medio altaris quandocunque dicitur.

In medio altaris erectis manibus incipiat Gloria in excelsis Deo.

²⁴ The rubric goes on into the following particulars. “ Scilicet quotidie per adventum: et a septuagesima usque ad coenam Domini quando de temporali dicitur missa: nisi in vigiliis et quatuor temporibus: manus tamen ad modum sacerdotis non habentibus: ceteris vero ministris, scilicet ceroferariis, thuribulario et acolyto in albis cum amictibus existentibus. In aliis vero temporibus anni quando de temporali dicitur missa, et in festis sanctorum totius anni, utantur diaconus et subdiaconus dalmaticis et tunicis: nisi in vigiliis et quatuor temporibus: et nisi in vigiliis paschae et penthecostes: et nativitatis Domini si in dominica contingere, et excepto jejunio quatuor temporum quod celebratur in ebdomada penthecostes: tunc dalmaticis et tunicis indui debent. In die paraseves et in rogationibus ad missam jejunii et processiis et in missis dominicalibus et sanctorum quae in cappis dicuntur, tunc enim albis cum amictibus utantur, ita tamen quod in tempore pasch. de quocunque dicitur missa, nisi in inventione sanctae crucis utantur ministri vestimentis albis ad missam. Similiter fiat in festo annuntiationis beatae Mariæ: et in conceptione ejusdem: et in utroque festo sancti Michaelis: et in festo sancti Johannis Apostoli in ebdomada nativitatis Domini: et per oct. et in oct. assumptionis et nativitatis beatæ Marie: et in commemorationibus ejusdem per totum annum: et per oct. et in oct. dedicationis ecclesiæ. Rubeis vero utantur vestimentis omnibus dominicis per annum extra tempus paschæ quando de dominica agitur: et in quarta feria in capite jejunii: et in coena Domini, et in utroque festo sanctæ crucis, in quolibet festo martyrum, apostolorum, et evangelistarum

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Quo dicto eat sacerdos ad medium altaris: et elevando manus suas dicat. Gloria in excelsis Deo.

Postea in medio altaris extensis et jungens manus caputque aliquantulum inclinans, dicit, si dicendum est,²⁵ Gloria in excelsis Deo. Et prosequitur junctis manibus. Cum dicit Adoramus te, Gratias agimus tibi et Jesu Christe, et Suscipe deprecationem, inclinat caput: et in fine dicens, Cum sancto Spiritu, signat se a fronte ad pectus.

extra tempus paschæ. In omnibus autem festis unius confessoris vel plurimorum confessorum utantur vestimentis crocei coloris."

²⁵ "Gloria in excelsis dicitur quandocumque in Matutino dictus est Hymnus *Te Deum*, preterquam in Missa feriæ quintæ in cæna Domini, et Sabbati sancti, in quibus *Gloria in excelsis* dicitur, quamvis in Officio non sit dictum *Te Deum*. In Missis votivis non dicitur, etiam tempore paschali, vel infra Octavas, nisi in Missa beatæ Mariae in Sabbato, et Angelorum: et nisi Missa votiva solemniter dicenda sit pro re gravi, vel pro publica Ecclesiæ causa, dummodo non dicatur Missa cum paramentis violaceis. Neque dicitur in Missis Defunctorum." *Rubr. Generales. Miss. tit. viij. 3,4.*

Very anciently, and, indeed it has been supposed, up to the year 1000, only Bishops were permitted to say this Hymn, except on Easter-day, when Priests also were allowed. *Walafrid Strabo*, cap. 22, says, "Statutum est, ut ipse Hymnus in summis festivitatibus a solis Episcopis usurparetur, quod etiam in capite libri Sacramentorum designatum videtur." *Cardinal Bona. tom. iii. p. 85*, cites a very early Missal, now in the Vatican, with this regulation, which Strabo appears to mean, at the beginning. "Dicitur *Gloria in excelsis Deo* si episcopus fuerit, tantummodo die Dominico, sive diebus festis. A Presbyteris autem minime dicitur, nisi in solo Pascha." An old anonymous writer, in a book called *Speculum Ecclesiæ*, says that this hymn was sung only once in the year, on the day of the Nativity: and further, that in the first Service it was sung in Latin, in the second in Greek. *Benedict XIV. Opera, tom. ix. p. 81.*

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GLORIA in excelsis Deo.²⁶ Et in terra pax hominibus bonae voluntatis. Laudamus te, Benedicimus te, Adoramus te, Glorificamus te. Gratias agimus tibi propter magnam gloriam tuam.²⁷ Domine Deus, Rex cœlestis, Deus Pater omnipotens. Domine Fili unigenite Jesu Christe. Domine Deus, agnus Dei, Filius Patris. Qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis. Qui tollis peccata mundi, suscipe deprecationem nostram. Qui sedes ad dexteram Patris, miserere nobis. Quoniam tu solus sanctus, Tu solus Dominus, Tu solus altissimus, Jesu Christe, Cum sancto Spiritu, in gloria Dei Patris, Amen.²⁸

His itaque peractis, factoque signaculo Postea conversus sa-

²⁶ This, as is well known, is called the Angelical Hymn, from the first few words having been sung by the Angels at the Nativity of our Redeemer. By whom the remainder was added, is involved in the deepest obscurity. Some ascribe it to *Telesphorus*, Bishop of Rome about A.D. 130. *Innocent, De Mysteriis*, c. 20. *Alcuin, de Div. Off. cap. xl.* gives it to Hilary of Poictiers, and with him agree *Hugo, de Div. Off. cap. xj.* and the Author of the *Gemma Animæ*, lib. i. 87: but against these (and others who may be mentioned) *Bona* observes that S. Athanasius, a contemporary of Hilary, speaks of this hymn, with its additions, as well known in his own time. The Fathers of one of the Councils (*iv. Tolet. can. 12.*) could not err, when they cautiously observed, “ Reliqua quæ sequuntur post verba Angelorum, Ecclesiasticos Doctores composuisse.” By the Greeks this Hymn is called the Great Doxology: and is said by them at their morning prayer. In many MSS. of the Latin Church, especially in the most ancient, it is added to the end of the Psalter with the Apostles’ and the Athanasian Creeds, with the title “ hymnus matutinus.”

The Salisbury, Bangor and Hereford Missals add several interpolations which were appointed to be said at certain Festivals of the Blessed Virgin, or Services in her Chapel. They commence after “ Domine fili unigenite Jesu Christe,” and continue thus: “ *Spiritus et alme orphanorum Paraclyte.* — *Filius Patris. Primogenitus Mariae virginis matris.* Qui tollis— deprecationem nostram. *Ad maria gloriam.* — *tu solus sanctus. Mariam sanctificans.* Tu solus Dominus. *Mariam gubernans.* Tu solus altissimus. *Mariam coronans, &c.*” The rubric is, (after sundry directions for other times) “ nisi quando, &c. — tunc enim dicitur sequens cantus cum sua far- sura, videlicet in choro. Et etiam dicitur cum sua prosa in quotidianis missis in capella beatæ Mariae omni sabbato. — In omnibus aliis missis quando dicendum est: dicitur sine prosa.” *Rubr. Sar.* Independent of the great objections to these in particular, no one can regret that all such additions have been removed from our present Liturgy: for although *Clichoreus* in his *Elucidation*, (p. 137) says that they were appointed “ secun-

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GLORIA in excelsis Deo. Et in terra pax hominibus bonæ voluntatis. Laudamus te, Benedicimus te, Adoramus te, Glorificamus te. Gratias agimus tibi propter magnam gloriam tuam. Domine Deus, Rex cœlestis, Deus Pater omnipotens. Domine Fili unigenite Jesu Christe. Domine Deus, agnus Dei, Filius Patris. Qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis. Qui tollis peccata mundi, suscipe deprecationem nostram. Qui sedes ad dexteram Patris, miserere nobis. Quoniam tu solus sanctus, Tu solus Dominus, Tu solus altissimus, Jesu Christe, Cum sancto Spiritu, in gloria Dei Patris, Amen.

His itaque peractis, factoque signo. Deinde osculatur altare in me-

dum ecclesiæ catholicæ ritum,” there can be no doubt, that they were mere private interpolations, which by degrees crept into very general observance. Two examples are given by *Pamelius* of other similar additions made to this most glorious hymn. *Liturg.* tom. xi.

“Gloria in excelsis” says the old author of the *Gemma Animæ* “solus sacerdos incipit, et chorus simul concinit: quia et solus angelus hoc incepit, et militia cœlestis exercitus simul concinit.” *Cap. 93.*

²⁷ (*Propter magnam gloriam tuam.*) “Gratias agimus tibi propter magnam gloriam tuam.” Magnæ Dei gloriæ, potius quam gratiarum actio, procul dubio Honor, obsequium, reverentia, ac prostratio debetur: dicendum igitur, quod ibi *Gloriam*, usurpetur pro eo attributo, in quo Deus ipse summe gloriatur, scilicet pro ejus misericordia, quæ erga nos exercita, semper in ipsius Dei miserentis vertitur gloria; sæpen numero etiam in Sacris Scripturis gloria pro misericordia accipitur, sicut ex verbis Apostoli, ad Romanos, c. 3. *Omnes enim peccaverunt, et egent Gloria Dei*, id est, Dei misericordia.” *Cavalieri Opera*, tom. v. p. 20.

²⁸ “¶ Post inceptionem *Gloria in excelsis* divertat se sacerdos ad dexterum cornu altaris, et ministri cum eo prosequentes: diaconus a dexteris et subdiaconus a sinistris submissa voce dicant idem.

“¶ Notandum est quod omnes clerici stare tenentur ad missam nisi dum lectio epistolæ legitur, et *Graduale*, et *Alleluia*, vel *Tractus* cantatur. In duplicebus tamen festis stare tenentur omnes dum a choro *Alleluia* cantatur. Pueri vero semper sunt stantes ad missam choro canente. — Et notandum est quod omnes clerici conversi ad altare stare tenentur dum ad missam *Gloria in excelsis* inchoatur: quoisque chorus cantet. Et in eodem hymno ad hæc verba *Adoramus te* et ad hæc verba *Suscipe deprecationem nostram* et in fine ejusdem cum dicitur, *Jesu Christe cum sancto Spiritu in gloria Dei*, usque ad epistolam. In fine vero grad. vel tr. vel *Alleluia*, vel sequentiae, chorus ad altare se inclinet antequam ad lectorem evangelii se vertat: et ad *Gloria tibi Domine*, semper ad altare se vertat lector evangelii, et etiam omnes clerici signo crucis se signent.” *Rubr. Miss. Sar.*

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crucis in facie sua, vertat se sacerdos ad populum, elevatisque aliquantulum brachiis junctisque manibus dicat :

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cerdos ad populum dicat :

DOMINUS vobis-

DOMI-
NUS
vobiscum.

DOMINUS vobis-

Et chorus respondeat:

ET cum spiritu tuo.

ET cum
spiritu
tuo.

Et iterum revertat sacerdos ad altare et dicat :

OREMUS.

Deinde dicitur oratio, sic determinando.

Per omnia saecula saeculorum.

Et si aliqua memoria habenda est, iterum dicat sacerdos, Oremus. ut supra. Et quando sunt plures collectae dicendae :³⁰ tunc omnes orationes quae sequuntur sub uno Per Dominum et uno

Oremus dicantur: ita tamen quod sep-

OREMUS.

Tunc omnes orationes quae sequuntur.

Cum collecta. Nota quod una dicitur propter unitatis sacramentum: et tres exemplo Domini qui ter ante passionem orasse legitur: quinque propter quinque partitam Domini passionem: septem, ad impetrandum septem dona sancti Spiritus: quem numerum nemo excedere ultra ratione permitti-

²⁹ *Vel, si sit Episcopus Pax vobis. Ritus Celebr. Miss. tit. v. 1.*

³⁰ (*Plures collectae dicendae, Sar.*) “ *Sacrae synodi approbatione salubriter duximus statuendum, ut per dioecesim nostram in celebrazione missarum, praeterquam in festis duplicibus, dicantur quinque collectae: una de pace ecclesiae, scilicet ‘ Ecclesiae tuae, quas (sic. quæsumus!) Domine preces’ &c. alia pro domino nostro rege, et regina et eorum filiis, scilicet, ‘ Dens, in ejus manu corda sunt regum.’ ” *Concil. Provinc. Scoticum. Wilkius. Concilia, tom. i. p. 617.**

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*naculo crucis in facie sua vertat
se sacerdos ad populum elevatis-
que aliquantulum brachiis junc-
tis et manibus disjungens eas
dicat :*

DOMINUS vobiscum.

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*dio, et versus ad populum, di-
cit, v.*

DOMINUS vobiscum.²⁹

¶.

ET cum spiritu tuo.

*Tunc jungat manus ut prius et
revertat se ad altare et iterum
disjungendo eas dicat :*

OREMUS.³¹

*Tunc omnes orationes quæ se-
quuntur sub uno Per Dominum
et sub uno Oremus, dicantur.*

Postea dicit,

OREMUS.

*Et Orationes, unam aut plures,
ut ordo Officii postulat.*

Ita tamen quod septenarum mu-

³¹ (Oremus.) “ Numquid ubi audieritis sacerdotem Dei ad ejus altare populum hortantem ad orandum, non respondebitis, Amen?” *S. August.* epist. 106. ad Vitaleni. “ In iis horrendissimis mysteriis communia sunt omnia: omnes eandem dicimus, et non sicut in veteri lege partem sacerdos, et partem populus, sed omnibus unum corpus proponitur, et unum poculum.” *S. Chrysostom.* Homil. 10. in 2 Epist. ad Corinthios. Vide *Durant.* de ritibus Ecclesiæ. lib. ii. cap. 16.

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tenarium numerum excedere non debent.³² tur.³³

Et semper dum stat sacerdos ad officium missæ: post eum stet diaconus directe in proximo gradu, et subdiaconus simili modo directe in secundo gradu post diaconum: ita ut quoties sacerdos ad populum se convertit, diaconus similiter se convertat. Subdiaconus vero interim genylectendo de capsula sacerdotis aptanda subministret.³³ Sciendum est autem quod quidquid a sacerdote dicitur ante episto-

³² (*non debent*. Sar.) “ Notandum quod in omnibus dominicis et in festis cum regimine chori, per totum annum, hoc generaliter observetur, ut ad missam tot dicuntur collectæ, quot dicebantur ad matutinas: nisi in die nativitatis Domini. Ita tamen quod ad missam impar numerus ipsarum collectarum semper custodiatur. Nam si duas vel quatuor orationes habentur: tunc erit tertia vel quinta oratio de omnibus sanctis: scilicet: *Concede, quæsumus omnipotens Deus: ut intercessio*, per totum annum tam per adventum quam in paschali tempore.” *Rubr. Miss. Sar.*

The number three, five, or seven, to one of which the number of Collects was limited, was symbolical of the earnest desire of the Church for unity, which is expressed by an uneven number. Anciently only one Collect was said, whence probably the name of it: that in one prayer many were collected together: but afterwards happened an excess in the other direction, and it was strictly enjoined that they should not be more than seven. See *Martene: de ant. Ecc. Ritibus. lib. i. cap. 4*, who quotes Belethus and Durand. The author of the *Gemma Animæ* says: “ Qui hunc numerum supergressus fuerit, ut cæcus errabit.” Cap. 116.

³³ (*Subministret*. Sar.) “ Et si episcopus celebraverit, omnes diaconi in gradu diaconorum consistant, principali diacono medium locum inter eos obtinente. Simili modo in gradu subdiaconi se habeant: cæteris omnibus diaconis et subdiaconis gestum principalis diaconi et principalis subdiaconi imitantibus: excepto quod principalis subdiaconus sacerdoti ad populum convertenti solus subministret.” *Rubr. Sar.*

³⁴ “ Ut evidens habeatur et plena cognitio qualiter orationes quas collectas vocamus terminandæ sunt: Prius notandum est quod in eis quandoque dirigitur sermo ad Patrem: quandoque ad Filium: quandoque ad Spiritum sanctum: quandoque ad totam Trinitatem. Sed quando ad Patrem, iterum considerandum est utrum ita dirigatur sermo ad Patrem quod fiat mentio de Filio et Spiritu sancto vel non. ¶ Et si in oratione quæ ad Patrem dirigitur, fiat mentio de Filio, refert an fiat ante finalem partem an in ipso fine: et secundum has diversitates narrabitur finis. Si vero dirigitur sermo ad Patrem absque mentione Filii et Spiritus sancti sic finietur: “ *Per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum Filium tuum: Qui tecum vivit et*

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merum excedere non debet.

Et semper dum stat sacerdos ad officium missæ: post eum stet diaconus directe in primo gradu: et subdiaconus similiter in secundo gradu. Ita ut quotiescumque sacerdos ad populum convertit se, diaconus similiter convertat se, subdiaconus vero interim genuflectendo de casula aptanda subministret.

regnat in unitate Spiritus sancti Deus. Per omnia sæc. sæculorum." Si vero de Spiritu sancto fiat mentio dicetur: "In unitate ejusdem Spiritus sancti Deus." Si vero de Filio fiat mentio ante finalem partem dicetur: "Per eum Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum Filium." Si vero in fine fit mentio de Filio, dicetur: "Qui tecum vivit et regnat." Si autem ad Filium dirigitur oratio sine mentione Spiritus sancti, dicetur: "Qui vivis et regnas cum Deo Patre, in unitate Spiritus sancti Deus." Si fiat mentio de Spiritu sancto dicetur: "Qui cum Patre et eodem Spiritu sancto vivis et regnas." Item orationes ad Patrem in quibus mentionem de Trinitate facimus, sic concludimus. "In qua vivis et regnas." Illas autem quas ad ipsam Trinitatem dirigimus, sic finimus. "Qui vivis et regnas Deus." ¶ Secundum autem Romanam Ecclesiam nullam orationem cum, "Per eum qui venturus est judicare," concludimus, nisi quando fit exorcismus, in quo diabolum per divinum judicium ut a creatura Dei recedat exorcizamus. Nam in aliis orationibus quas cum *Per Dominum* concludimus, Patrem ut per amorem Filii nobis subveniat imploramus. In exorcismis autem diabolum per Dei judicium ut afigiat increpamus: in quo judicio scit se diabolus potentissime damnandum: cuius timore judicii concutitur." *Rubr. Miss. Ebor.*

It is remarkable that this long and important note occurs in the York Use, which is distinguished rather by the fewness and shortness of its rubrics. It gives also examples from various Collects of each conclusion, according to the rules laid down. The *Rubricæ generales Miss. Rom.* tit. ix. 17. have a short notice on the subject which should be consulted. The points involved are of no small consequence, and concern the highest doctrines of the Faith. In the first four Centuries it has been asserted that all the prayers of the service of the Communion, were addressed solely to God the Father: "Ut in Altari semper ad Patrem dirigatur Oratio," are certainly the words of the 3rd Council of Carthage. Canon. 23. *Florus Lugdunensis* says, this was because the Christians feared lest the Doctrine of the Undivided Trinity might be misunderstood, and give countenance to the dreadful error of more gods than One God.

I shall make one short extract from Cardinal Bona: "Ad solum Patrem

lam in dextro cornu altaris expleatur: præter inceptionem Gloria in excelsis. Similiter fiat post perceptionem sacramenti. Cætera omnia in medio altaris expleantur: nisi forte diaconus defuerit. Post introitum vero missæ umis ceroferariorum panem³⁵ vinum et aquam³⁶ quæ ad Eucharistie ministratiōnem dis-

omnes fere Collectæ directæ sunt, paucæ ad Filium, nulla ad Spiritum Sanctum: non quia is donum est, et a dono donum non petitur, ut nonnulli Durando in suo Rationali philosophantur; sed quia Missa repræsentatio est ejus oblationis, qua Christus se Patri obtulit, ac propterea ad ipsum Patrem Liturgieæ precatiōnes diriguntur.” *Tom. iij. p. 105.* The place in Durand is *lib. iv. cap. 15.*

³⁵ *Vide “ De defectibus in celebr. Missarum occurrentibus,” in the Roman Missal. Tit. iij. iv. The English Church from the earliest ages has reiterated her injunctions, as to the care which is necessary to be observed in providing proper Elements for the Holy Eucharist. Take, for example: “ Sacerdotes Dei diligenter semper procurent, ut panis et vinum et aqua, sine quibus nequaquam missæ celebrantur, pura et munda fiant; quia si aliter agatur, cum his qui acetum cum felle mixtum Domino optulerunt, nisi vera pœnitentia subvenerit, punientur.” This from Archbishop Egbert’s Excerpts, (100th) A. D. 750. *Thorpe. Anglo-Saxon Laws. ii. 111.* About thirty years later, the 10th Canon of the Council of Chalciuth is headed “ *ut in Missa —— crusta panis non admittatur: “directing; “ Oblationes quoque fidelium tales fiant, ut panis sit, non crusta.” Wilkins. Concilia. tom. i. p. 147.* Our present Rubric commands that we should procure “ *the best and purest Wheat Bread, that conveniently may be gotten.*” I shall only add further, a rule among those which Archbishop Lanfranc drew up for the Order of S. Benedict, which shews the excess of care which anciently was taken in this matter. “ *Ea autem die, qua hostiae fieri debent, secretarius et fratres, qui eum juvare debent, antequam incipiant, manus et facies lavent, albis induantur, capita amictibus velent, præter eum, qui ferra tenturus, et inde serviturus est. Horum unus super tabulam mundissimam ipsam farinam aqua conspergat, et manibus fortiter compingat, et maceret, frater, qui ferra, in quibus coquuntur, tenet, manus chirothecis habeat involutas. Interim dum ipsæ Hostiae fiunt et coquuntur, dicant iidem Fratres Psalmos familiares Horarum, et Horas-Canonicas, et de Psalterio ex ordine quod tantumdem valeat, si ita potius voluerint.” Opera. p. 280.**

³⁶ About these there was no less care taken, than with the bread. One quotation must now suffice. From the constitutions of a Synod of the Diocese of Sodor and Man. A. D. 1350. “ *Summopere præcaventes ne vinum cum quo celebratur, sit corruptum, vel in acetum commutatum, et quod*

potius sit rubrum, quam album. In albo tamen bene conficitur sacrum, et non de aceto, cum in aceto mutantur omnes substantiales vires, et vinum vim amisit. Et aqua in tam modica quantitate apponatur, ut non vinum ab aqua, sed aqua a vino absorbeatur." I cite this, remembering the practice of the modern Church of Rome, to use white wine, whereas we adhere to the old and much more suitable custom of consecrating red wine: besides, the same canon goes on to speak of the host: " Hostia de frumento sit rotunda et integra, et sine macula: quia agnus extitit sine macula, et os non fuit comminutum ex eo. Unde versus:

Candida, triticea, tennis, non magna, rotunda,
Expers fermenti, non mista sit hostia Christi,
Inscribatur aqua, non cocta sed igne sit assa."

Wilkins. Concilia. tom. iii. p. 11.

It is of the highest consequence, affecting (some say) the integrity of the Sacrament, that the bread should be of wheat, and not of almonds, or the such-like. But whether it be leavened or not, has always been held to be indifferent, and a matter, either to be left open and to individual discretion; or decided, as in the above verses, by a legitimate authority either in one way or another.

But when so decided, the best Canonists agree, that every Priest must follow the order of his own Church: otherwise it will be sufficient, provided only that the bread be of wheat, and the wine of the juice of the grape. " Quæ sit species vini parum refert; modo revera sit *rinum de vite*." *Van Espen. Pars II. sect. i. tit. 4.* Let us add to all this the opinion of one of our own Archbishops. " Quoniam multæ sunt diversitatis, quæ non in substantia Sacramenti, neque in virtute ejus, aut fide discordant, neque omnes in unam consuetudinem colligi possunt: æstimo eas potius in pace concorditer tolerandas, quam discorditer cum scandalo damnandas. Habet enim a sanctis Patribus, quia si unitas servatur charitatis in fide Catholica, nihil officit consuetudo diversa." These are memorable words: but not less so are those by which they are preceded. " Utique si per universam Ecclesiam uno modo et concorditer celebrarentur: (i. e. sacramenta Ecclesiae) bonum esset et laudabile." *S. Anselm. Opera. p. 139.* Compare also, p. 135. " Et azymum et fermentatum sacrificans, sacrificat. Et cum legitur de Domino, quando Corpus suum de pane fecit; quia accepit panem et benedixit; non additur, azymum, vel fermentatum."

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ponuntur, deferat: reliquus vero pelvum cum aqua et manutergio portet. Chorum licet ingredi usque ad completorium primæ collectæ.

Incepta vero ultima oratione ante epistolam: subdiaconus per medium chori ad legendum Epistolam in pulpitem⁴⁰ accedat. Et legatur epistola in pulpito omni die dominica, et quandocumque cho-

Dum legitur³⁷ Epistola,³⁸

³⁷ (*Dum legitur Epistola*, Herf.) “Leectio dicitur, quia non cantatur ut psalmus vel hymnus, sed legitur tantum. Illic enim modulatio, hic sola pronuntiatio quæritur.” *Amalarius*, lib. iii. cap. 11. This is most important, as shewing that whatever later practice in a few places might have been, it was not then the custom to sing the Epistle, which was even in some Churches forbidden.

Compare also *Rabanus Maurus*. “Tunc lector legit lectionem canoniam.” *De Institut. Clerie*, lib. i. cap. 33.

³⁸ Very anciently, this was called *Apostolus*. The following is from the valuable publication of the *Rites of the Church of Durham*. “When the Monkes went to say or sing the High Mass, they put on their Vestments in the Vestrye, both the Epistoler and the Gospeller. They were always revest in the same place, and when the office of the masse began to be sung the Epistoler came out of the revestrie and the other two monkes following him, all three arow, and there did stand untill the *Gloria Patri* of the office of the masse began to be sung, and then, with great reverence and devotion, they went all up to the High Altar.—The epistoler, when he had sung the Epistle, did lay by the booke againe on the Altar, and, after, when the gospell was sung, the Gospeller did lay it downe on the Altar untill the masse was done.” p. 7.

³⁹ “Dictis orationibus, celebrans positis super librum, vel super altare manibus, ita ut palmae librum tangant, vel, (ut placuerit) librum tenens, legit Epistolam, intelligibili voce—et similiter stans eodem modo, prosecutur *Graduale*, *Alleluia*, et *Tractum*, ac *Sequentiam*, si dicenda sint.” *Ritus Celebr. Missam*, tit. vj. 1.

⁴⁰ “Solebant autem antiquitus tam Epistola, quam Evangelium legi in ambone seu pulpito.” *Bona*, tom. iii. 127. Still it appears that a difference was observed in the reading of the two. Thus the one was read upon a lower step: as we see in the next note was the Order of the Church of Hereford, and according to the old “*Expositio Missæ*.” *Bibl. Patr. Auct.* tom. i. p. 1171. “Subdiaconus qui lecturns est, mox ut viderit post Pontificem presbyteros residentes, ascendit in Ambonem ut legat. Non tamen in superiore gradum, quem solus solet ascendere, qui Evangelium lecturus est.”

There was certainly also a great distinction in many Churches between

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*Deinde legatur Epistola: super sequitur Epistola,³⁹
lectrinum⁴¹ a subdiacono ad
gradum chori.⁴²*

the place for saying the Epistle and Gospel at the Communion, and the Lessons of the other Offices. For example; at Durham. “At the north end of the High Altar there was a goodly fine Letteron of brasse, where they sung the epistle and the gospell, with a gilt pellican on the height of it, finely gilded, pullinge hir bloud out hir breast to hir young ones, and wings spread abroade, whereon did lye the book that they did sing the Epistle and the Gosple.—Also ther was lowe downe in the Quere another Lettorn of brasse, not so curiously wroughte, standing in the midst against the Stalls, a marveilous faire one, with an Eagle on the height of it, and hir wings spread a broad, whereon the Monkes did lay theire booke when they sung theire legends at mattins or at other times of service.”

Rites of the Church of Durham. p. 11.

In some Churches there were two flights of steps, the one used by the reader of the Epistle, the other by the reader of the Gospel. The 33rd Canon of the Council of Trullo, cited by *Bona*, and by *Gerbert*, tom. i. 321, &c. condemns a custom which at one time was again prevailing of laymen taking upon them the office of reader and ascending the pulpit. The Ethiopic Missal, directs the Epistle to be read with a loud voice. “*Postea magna voce dicit epistolam.*” Edit. 1550. Sign. G. 3.

⁴¹ (*Lectrinum. Herf.*) “Epistola inscribitur *Lectio*, quia initio quidem tantummodo clata voce sine cantu legebatur, locusque in quo legebatur, *lectrinum, lectricum, lectorium, legeolum*, dictum fuit a verbo *legere.*” *Le Brun.* tom. i. p. 99. This is the same as that of which *Ingulphus* speaks when relating his dream: “Erat enim sancti Andreæ Apostoli vigilia; et in suo cursu medinm iter tunc fere peregerat, cum post multa precum dictamina tandem dicti sancti Apostoli lecta passione victoriosa, somno subito obrepente, super lectrinum, quod ante stabant, in latus alterum reclinabar.”

—*Hist. Croylandensis.* p. 75.

⁴² “Et evangelium a diacono super superiorum gradum converso ad partem borealem. Et. Gr. et Alleluia cum suis versibus super lectrinum in medio chori. Quod in omnibus dominicis et festis ix lec. et iij. lec., commemorationibus, et feriis observetur per totum annum. Exceptis festis principalibus dupl. et semidup. Et exceptis dominica in ramis palmarum, vigilia paschæ et pentecostes: quia in illis diebus omnia ista in pulpito legendur.” *Rubr. Miss. Herf.* The “lectrinum in medio chori” was probably used also for the lections at the Canonical Hours.

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rus regitur per totum annum : et in die cœnæ et in vigilia paschæ et penthe. et in com. animarum. In omnibus vero aliis festis et seriis, et in vigiliis, et in quatuor temporibus extra ebd. penthe. ad gradum chori legatur tam in quadragesima quam extra quadragesimam.

Iterum vero veniant duo ceroferarii cum cæteris obviam acolyto ad ostium presbyterii, ad locum administratio- nis prædictæ deferente offer- torio et corpo- ralibus⁴³ ipsi calici superpo- sitis: est autem acolytus in al- ba et mentello serico ad hoc parato, calice itaque in eo de-

⁴³ (*Et corporalibus. Bangor.*) “ Corporale, super quo sacra oblatio immolatur, ex mundissimo et purissimo linteo sit; nec in eo alterius generis materia pretiosior aut vilior misceatur: quia dominicum corpus in sepulcro, non in holosericis, sed tantum in sindone munda fuit involutum. Corporale nunquam super altare remaneat: sed, aut in Sacramentorum libro ponatur, aut cum calice et patena in mundissimo loco recondatur. Et quando abluitur a Sacerdote, Diacono, vel Subdiacono, primo in loco et vase ad hoc præparato abluatur, eo quod ex dominico corpore et sanguine infectum sit. Post haec a lavandario in nitido loco paretur.” *Regino Prumiensis*, lib. i. p. 51. *Ex Concilio Remensi.* With this agrees Lyndwood. “ Corporalia non debent fieri ex Serico, sed solum ex panno lineo puro terreno ab Episcopo consecrato. Nec debet confici neque benedici *Corporale* de Panno misso in confectione Farinæ, vel alterius rei ad hoc, quod stet rigidum super Calicem. — Et erit candidum atque mundum, quia significat sindonem in

qua Corpus Christi fait involutum." Lib. iii. tit. 23. *Linteamina*. Immediately after the Corporals, follow *Pallæ*, which Lyndwood explains to be, "Vestimenta Altaris, sc. Sindones et Corporalia, quæ quia quadrangulæ sunt, ideo dicuntur *Pallæ*: a quodam muliebri Pallio quadrangulo." See also *Du Cange*, *verb.* *Corporale*: and the authorities which he cites.

Among the Churchwardens' Accounts of the Parish of S. Michael, York, in the year 1521, is an item, "P^d for a pair of mosfits for to wase the Corporase." *Nichols.* p. 309. The Editor of these in a note supposes these *mosfits* to be *mosticks*, which are said in the dictionaries to be the steady-ing rods used by painters: and that such sticks or rods were used in the old fashion of washing by what was called *bucking*, and in the *bucking tub*. As the charge occurs amongst parish accounts we may conclude that whatever the *mosfits* mean, at that time special attention was paid to the wash-ing of the Corporals.

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bito deposito
corporalia ipse
acolytus super
altare solemni-
ter deponat :
itaque altare
in recessu de-
osculetur, quo
facto cerofera-
rii candelabra
cum cereis ad
gradum alta-
ris dimittant.

Quando epistola legitur⁴⁴ duo pueri in superpelliciis facta inclinatione ad altare ante gradum chori in pulpitem per me- dium chori ad Gradale⁴⁵ incipiendum se præparent, et suum versum cantandum. Dum versus gradalis canitur duo de su- periori gradu ad Alleluya⁴⁶ cantandum cappas sericas se induant. Et ad pulpi- tum per medium chori accedant. Se- quatur Alleluya. Finito Alleluya, se- quatur Sequentia.⁴⁷

et canitur Gradale,

*et Alleluya vel Trac-
tus⁴⁸ vel Tropus⁴⁹ se-
deat cum ministris*

⁴⁴ “ Episcopus tribus horis Missæ sedet, scilicet dum Epistola legitur, dum Graduale, et Alleluya canitur : quia Christus tribus diebus inter do- tores sedisse legitur in templo.” *Gemma Animæ*, cap. xij.

⁴⁵ (*Gradale*, Sar. &c.) This was a verse or response which varied with the day, and was so called, not as some have supposed, from the steps of the Altar, but of the Pulpit or Ambo upon which it was sung. *Cassander*, from an old exposition of an *Ordo Romanus*, has put this beyond a doubt; “ *Re- sponsorium, quod ad Missam dicitur, pro distinctione aliorum Graduale vocatur, quia hoc psallitur in Gradibus, cætera vero ubique voluerit Clerus.*” *Opera*, p. 44. *Durand* says: “ *Dicitur graduale, vel gradale, a gradibus scilicet humilitatis. Significans ascensus nostros a virtute in virtutem.* — *pertinet ad opera activævitæ, ut notetur nos operibus respondere eis quæ in lectione audivimus: scilicet prædicationem.*” *Lib. iv. cap. 19.* Some authors suppose (see *Caralierus*, tom. v. cap. x. 13., and *Bellarmino*, *Controv.* lib. vj. 70.) that the *Gradual*, whose first author is said to have been Pope *Celestine*, was appointed, “ *ne illud tempus, quo Diaconus ab altari*

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Deo Gratias.

*Finita epistola dicatur Gradale Graduale,
cum suo versu :*

*et Alleluya vel Tractus secun-
dum quod tempus exigit.*

*Tractus vel Alleluia cum Versu
aut Sequentia ut tempus postu-
lat.*

recedens, et in suggestum ascendens in silentio elaberetur.” This seems a very likely origin, and serves also to account for its name.

⁴⁶ (*Alleluya. Sar. &c.*) I need scarcely say, that this as well as the Tract, Sequence, &c. not only varied, but was sometimes omitted. There is an order in the Penitential of Archbishop Theodore, which is important, as regards this. “ *Laicus in ecclesia juxta altare non debet lectionem recitare ad missam, nec in pulpito Alleluia cantare, sed psalmos tantum aut responsaria, sine Alleluia.*” *Thorpe. Ancient Laws and Institutes.* vol. ii. p. 58. In the 8th Century, the second Council of Clovesho in its 27th Canon, gave some allowance to the same effect. *Vide Wilkins. Concilia.* tom. i. p. 99. *Gerbert de Musica*, should be especially consulted: tom. i. p. 56.

⁴⁷ (*Sequentia. Sar.*) *Du Cange* says, “ *Canticum exultationis, quae et Prosa dicitur:*” and there seems to be no doubt, that, at least anciently, these terms were applied to the same thing. Compare *Bona*, tom. iii. p. 141, and *Georgius. Lit. Rom. Pontif.* tom. 2. ccvij. They, as the Tropes, were introduced about the 10th Century, and in many Churches vast numbers

In fine alleluia, vel sequentiae, vel tractus diaconus⁵⁰ antequam accedit ad evan-

usque ad e-

were used, so that in some even every day had its proper Sequence. The Church of Rome never admitted them to so great an extent into her Liturgy, nor does it appear that they were in such excess at any time in the Church of England. The most common opinion as to their author, or rather first introducer of them, (for as time went on, they had many authors) is, that the earliest was composed by Notker, abbot of S. Gall, in the diocese of Constance, about A.D. 900. There have not been wanting writers who have not hesitated, though without a shadow of authority, to attribute to them so high an antiquity as the age of Gelasius, and S. Gregory. At the revision of the Roman Liturgy, in the 16th Century, all the sequences were removed, except four: these are: *Victimæ Paschali*, at Easter: *Veni Sancte Spiritus*, at Whitsuntide: and *Lauda Sion Salvatorem*, upon Corpus Christi day. The fourth which was retained, is the very famous *Dies iræ, dies illa*, in the Missa defunctorum. Strictly speaking this last is improperly called, a sequence: because in that service in which it occurs, there ought not to be, neither is there, any hymn peculiarly of joy. It may very rightly be called, a *Prose*, a name given as I have said to the sequences, because though written in a species of rhythm, they are not limited by any of the common rules of metre. I may add, these sequences are said to have been so called, because they followed the Epistle. I must again refer the reader to the *Dissertation* on Service Books, *Monumenta Rit.* vol. i. and if he wishes to examine the subject fully, he will find an admirable treatise upon it in *Georgius.* tom. 2. ccv. &c.

⁴⁸ (*Tractus. Ebor.*) “Cantus Ecclesiastici species.” *Du Cange. Durand* says, “Dicitur Tractus a trahendo: quia tractum et cum asperitate vocum, et prolixitate verborum canitur.” Lib. iv. cap. 21. It was opposed to the Alleluia: the one being for the seasons of joy and triumph, the other of sorrow and abasement. Almost all the Ritualists agree with Durand and the earlier writers from whom he derived his authorities, as to the origin of the name: *Merati* adds in his note to *Gavantus*: “Vere dicitur a trahendo: quia revera continua serie modulationis unius Cantoris non interrupta responsionibus aliorum intercinentium peragebatur. Hoc autem est discri- men inter Responsorium et Tractum, quod primo Chorus respondet, Tractui vero nemo. Tractus totus dicebatur ab uno solo Cantore, qui erat diversus ab illo, qui cantabat Graduale, sive Responsorium.” Tom. i. p. 93.

The custom of saying some response, either gradual, or tract, or sequence, after the Epistle, seems to be as old at least as the time of S. Augustine. He says, “Apostolum audivimus, psalmum audivimus, evangelium audi- vimus.” *Serm. 8.* But it would appear that then an entire psalm was sung, a remnant of which ancient practice was preserved in the Salisbury, York, Hereford, and Bangor Missals, upon the first Sunday in Lent, and on Passion Sunday. Probably the new mode of a verse or two only, became general about the end of the 5th Century: because Leo the Great

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His finitis diaconus antequam procedat ad pronuntiandum His finitis Diaconus deponit librum Evangeliorum super me-

speaks of the whole psalm, (A. D. 450), but in the Sacramentary of S. Gregory (A. D. 600) the shorter gradual or response is found. See, *Romséc.* Opera. tom. iv. p. 121.

⁴⁹ (*Tropus. Ebor.*) *Est quidam versiculus, qui præcipuis festivitatibus cantatur; et continet tria, videlicet Antiphonam, Versum, et Gloriam. Ita Durandus. Ration. lib. iv. c. 5. qui hæc subdit lib. vi. c. 114. “Hi autem versus Tropi vocantur, quasi laudes ad antiphonas convertibiles: Τρόπος enim Græce, conversio dicitur Latine.”* *Du Cange. Gloss.* It is not easy to say what is meant by the use of the term *Trope* in this place; possibly the *sequence* is intended, for the true *Tropi* were attached to the *Introit*. Even so used they were of late introduction, and did not obtain universal acceptance. No example of one has occurred before the xth. Century. Certainly the Monastic Uses were more full of them, than the Diocesan: and we find prayers with such interpolations in some of their *Missals*: in one sense the addition to the *Gloria in excelsis* of which I have already spoken, may be called a *Trope*. In such a way, the *Trope* here spoken of may be an addition to the *Tract*, or *Sequence*. See more upon this, in the Dissertation upon the Service Books: *verb. Troparium. Monumenta Ritualia*. vol. i.

⁵⁰ (*Diaconus. Sar.*) “Antiquitus etiam evangelium legebatur a *Lector*, ut colligitur ex *Epistola sancti Cypriani* 33. et ex *Concilio Toletano* 1. cap. 2. Hoc postea munus majoris erga *Evangelium honoris gratia Diaconis* demandatum fuit, ut habetur ex *Epistola S. Hieronymi ad Sabinianum. Evangelium Christi quasi Diaconus lectitabas.* Et ex *Epistola sancti Bonifacii Episcopi Moguntini ad Zachariam Pontificem*, ubi conqueritur quosdam Diaconos, quamvis plures concubinas habereunt, adhuc *Evangelium* legere. Apud Græcos etiamnum mos viget, ut *Evangelium a Lectoribus publice legatur*, uti refert *Smithius in Epistola de præsenti Ecclesiæ Græcæ statu. pag. 155.*” *Cavalieri. Opera. tom. v. p. 30.* This opens an important and interesting enquiry, which this is not the place to pursue, nor can I afford space. One thing seems certain: that the *Gospel* was read only by *Deacons*, long before the reading of the *Epistle* was in like manner removed from the office of the *Lector*: of which latter duty as attached to the *Sub-deacon*, we find no trace earlier than about the 7th Century.

It was to meet this that an alteration was made in the sixteenth Century in the Form of Ordination of *Sub-deacons*: “*Accipe librum Epistolarum, et habe potestatem legendi eas in Ecclesia sancta Dei:*” this was added. *Amalarinus* in the 9th Century expresses his wonder at the new practice which was then gaining ground; “*ut Subdiaconus frequentissime legat Lectionem ad Missam, cum hoc non reperiatur ex ministerio sibi dato in consecratione commissum, neque ex nomine suo.*” *Lib. 2. cap. xj. Micrologus* speaks much in the same way. And even *Durand* in the 13th Cent. enquires, “*Quare subdiaconus legit Lectionem ad Missam, cum non reperia-*

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gelium pronuntiandum thurifacit medium vangelium legendum.
 altaris tantum. Nunquam enim thurifacetur lectrum ante pronuntiationem
 evangelii.

tur hoc sibi competere, vel ex eo nomine, vel ex ministerio sibi concessu?"
Lib. ii. cap. 8.

The Canons and the Pastoral Epistle of Archbishop *Ælfric*, supply sufficient information as to the practice in his time, of the Anglo-Saxon Church. In the first of these, Can. 10, he lays down that, "Seven degrees are established in the Church: one is ostiarius, the second is lector, the third exorcista, the fourth acoluthus, the fifth subdiaconus, the sixth diaconus, the seventh presbyter." In the succeeding Canons he explains the offices proper to each. "12. Lector is the reader, who reads in God's Church, and is ordained for the purpose of preaching of God's word.—15. Subdiaconus is truly underdeacon, who bears forth the vessels to the deacon, and humbly ministers under the deacon at the holy altar, with the housel vessels. 16. Diaconus is the minister who ministers to the mass-priest, and sets the offerings upon the altar, and also reads the Gospels at God's ministries." *Thorpe. Ancient Laws and Institutes. vol. ii. p. 349.* The Pastoral Epistle is to the same purpose, p. 379, and clearly attaches the reading to the lector, and not to the sub-deacon.

And not only the Canons and Epistle of *Ælfric*, but other very ancient writers attribute the Gospel-lection solely to the Deacon. *Isidore* in his 2nd Book of Divine Offices, "inter officia Diaconi," includes "evangelizare." *Cap. 8.* But, in short, as in another place I have spoken, *Monumenta Rit. vol. i.* upon the great reverence with which our fathers treated the *book of the Gospels*, whether the entire Gospels, or the selections to be read in the Liturgy, the Evangelisterium, lavishing upon it all kinds of outward ornament, and inside decorations of the pencil—so also, began the practice from the same feelings of pious gratitude and devotion, that the reading of the Gospel should be committed to none of less degree and order in the Church, than Deacons: "Diaconis tantum, qui ad sacerdotalem dignitatem proxime accedunt." During the reading of it, the laity showed also greater signs of reverence: staffs were laid aside: *Amalarius. lib. iii. 18. Gemma Animæ. lib. i. 24. Durand. lib. iv. 24. &c.* All rose, *Constit. Apostol. lib. ii. cap. 57:* and in some Churches listened to it, half-kneeling in a stooping posture.

How high was the estimation in which the Gospels were held in the middle ages, is proved most clearly by the fact that some writers in the 8th Century did not hesitate to say, that in a remote sense the Gospel is the Body of Christ. "Et corpus Christi quod manducatur non solum panis et vini, quod super Altare offertur, sed et ipsum Evangelium Christi est; et cum Evangelium legimus et intelligimus, filii in cirenlitu mensæ in una

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evangelium thurifacit medium
altaris tantum: nunquam thu-
rifacetur lectrinum ante pro-
nuntiationem evangelii.

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dium altaris et Celebrans be-
nedicit incensum, ut supra:
Deinde Diaconus genuflexus
ante altare, manibus junctis di-
cit:

conlatione sedemus, et panem nostrum mandicanus." *Etherius.* lib. i. de Incarnat.

The laying aside of staffs alluded to just above, was not a very early practice: but was introduced about the 8th Century, for *Amalarius* speaks of it, and lasted through the next three or four. It was then the custom for the people to stand during the whole Service, and, being long, they rested themselves on their staffs. Their use ceased altogether in the Western Church, when seats and settles were introduced. See *Sala's note to Bona.* tom. iii. p. 153. We learn from *S. Chrysostom*, Hom. 63, that in the Greek Church, during the Gospel, the Emperor laid aside his crown.

I must add to this note an extract from a very rare book, written by one as it was then called "of the new learning," about the year 1529: the full title is, "A worke entytled of the olde god and the newe, of the olde faythe and the newe, of the olde doctryne and the newe, or orygynall begynnyng of Idolatrye." The author is describing some of the ceremonies of the Mass. "But what shall I saye of the gospell, when it is song? Oh, how goodly ceremonies are then done.—There is borne a banner of sylke and garnyshed with a goodly crosse, in token of the victorius and blessed tryumph whiche Jesu Chryste made of subduing the worlde vnto hym selfe by the doctryne of the gospell.—Then afterwardes a preest beareth a sencer of siluer makyng a fumigation and saunour of ensence, as long as the gospell is in readyng to sygnyfy our inwarde affection towarde christ.—There is also borne aboute the gospell boke rychely couered with golde and siluer, garnyshyd with precyous stones.—Afterwardes there thundreth a great bell, by which we do sygnyfy our chrysten preestly and apostolycall offyce:—last of all the gospell is borne aboue to every person in the quyer, and offered forth to be kyssed:—and we do go aboue to gette glorie in the syght of the lay people, to whome the gospell is not in lyke manner offered to be kyssed." *Sign. M. 4.* This is an important volume in such respects, as regards facts: and is written in a lively satirical style, but with very much of that indecent and almost blasphemous ribaldry, which characterizes so many of the books of the Reformers at that time. Its author was, it seems from his own account, a chaplain or minor-canon of some Cathedral, and disappointed at not having obtained better preferment: which accounts for much of his virulence against others of higher dignity. The "Old god and the newe" was strictly prohibited by a Royal Proclamation, in the year 1530: see *Wilkins, Concilia*, vol. iii. p. 737. I have quoted the above from a copy in my possession.

*Deinde accipiat textum, scilicet librum
Evangeliorum, et humilians se ad sacer-
dotem stantem coram altari: versa facie
ad meridiem ita dicat:*

JUBE domne benedicere.⁵¹

Sacerdos respondeat:

DOMINUS sit in corde tuo et ore
tuo ad pronuntiandum sanctum
evangelium Dei. In nomine Patris et
Filii et Spiritus sancti. Amen.⁵²

*Dum petit diaconus be-
nedictionem:*

*respondat sacerdos di-
cens:*

DOMINUS aperiatur
tibi os ad legen-
dum et nobis aures ad
intelligendum sanctum
evangelium Dei pacis.
In nomine Patris etc.

⁵¹ (*Jube domne benedicere.*) This, says *Le Brun*, was a manner of address formerly much in use, as being a mark of humiliation and respect. So, anciently among the Greeks, the Deacon, when he warned the Faithful who were assembled in their solemn service, either to rise or sit, did not say *Rise* or *Sit*, but merely “*Jubete*,” as if it were, *command yourselves* to do so and so.

The word *Domne* is a contraction from *Dominus*. The latter was appropriated in its strict use to the Deity alone: and *Domnus* or *Domna*, in the middle ages, was a title of great respect, and applied only to eminent dead saints, or living people who occupied important offices in the Church: as for example, the officiating Priest during the celebration of the Eucharist. See also *Du Cange* upon the word.

Upon this request and the reply, *Peter Damiani* has well observed: “*Lecturus magnae humilitatis gratia, non a Sacerdote, sed ab eo, cui Sacerdos jusserit, se postulat benedici dicens: Jube Domne benedicere.* Sacerdos autem, ut tanta humilitate vicem reddat, non subiecto cuiquam benedicendi delegat officium, nec per semetipsum benedictionem dare præsumit: sed potius, ut a Deo, qui est super omnia benedictus, præerogetur,

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MUNDA cor meum, ac labia mea, omnipotens Deus, qui labia Isaiæ Prophetæ calculo mundasti ignito: ita me tua grata miseratione dignare mundare, ut sanctum Evangelium tuum digne valeam nuntiare. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

Postea accipit librum de altari, et rursus genuflexus petit benedictionem a Sacerdote, dicens:

Deinde accipiat textum scilicet librum evangeliorum: humilians se ad sacerdotem stantem ante altare versa facie, ita dicens:

JUBE domine benedicere.

Sacerdos respondeat:

DOMINUS sit in corde tuo et in labiis tuis ad pronuntiandum evangelium pacis.

JUBE domine benedicere.

Sacerdos respondet:

DOMINUS sit in corde tuo et in labiis tuis: ut digne et competenter annunties Evangelium suum: in nomine Patris et Filii **+** et Spiritus sancti. Amen.

exposit.” *De Dominus vobiscum*, cap. ii.

When the Pope officiates at Matins on the day of the Nativity, before the ninth Lection which he then reads, he does not say *Domne*, but *Jube Domine benedicere*: for he is supposed to be addressing not man, but God Himself: and no response is made: for the greater cannot be blessed by the inferior. The Choir answers simply “Amen.” Some bishops, (and I confess I do not see the object of this rule) in their own Churches at Matins are addressed by an inferior, “*Jube Domne benedicere*,” to which they make the usual reply and benediction, and themselves read the appointed Lection. The *Caerimoniale Episc.* now orders the same rite to be observed by all Bishops, as by the Bishop of Rome; unless an Archbishop or one of higher rank be present. “*Si vero adesset aliquis Praelatus major se.*” Lib. ii. cap. 5.

⁵² “*Si autem sacerdos per semetipsum celebret, dicat privatim: Jube domne benedicere. Et postea dicat ipsem.*” *Dominus sit in corde meo et in ore meo ad pronuntiandum sanctum evangelium Dei. In nomine Patris. &c.*” *Rubr. Sar.*

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Et sic procedat diaconus per medium chori, ipsum textum super sinistram manum solenniter gestando ad pulpitum⁵³ accedat, thuribulario et ceroferario precedentibus. Quandocumque enim legitur epistola in pulpito, ibidem legatur et evangelium. Et cum ad locum legendi pervenerint: textum ipsum subdiaconus accipiat; et a sinistris ipsius diaconi quasi oppositus ipsum textum dum evangelium legitur teneat: ceroferariis diacono assistentibus: uno a dexteris et reliquo a sinistris ad eum conversis. Thuribularius vero stet post diaconum ad eum conversus. Et semper legatur evangelium versus aquilonem.⁵⁴ Cum autem incepit evangelium: post Dominus vobis-

Et diaconus dicat:

Domi ne Domine sermonem rec-
tum et bene sonantem in os meum, ut place-
ant tibi verba mea et omnibus audientibus propter nomen tuum in vitam æternam. Amen.

⁵³ This place was in some countries from the benediction which always immediately preceded the advance to it, vulgarly called “the Jube.” Vide *Le Brun.* tom. i. p. 110, and *Micrologus.* cap. ix. It was always a high place. “Evangelium in alto loco legitur, quia in monte prædicasse perhabetur, ideo etiam in sublimi legitur, quia sublimia sunt Evangelica præcepta.” *Gemma Animæ.* cap. xvi. “De Pulpito.” Compare also *Alcuin:* “Desertur Evangelium ad analogium, præcedentibus cereis.” *De dir. Officiis.* *Bibl. Patrum.* *Auct.* tom. i. p. 280. And *Amalarius,* lib. iij. cap. 17. “Lector et cantor in gradum ascendunt, in more antiquorum:” and, cap. 18. “Tribunal vocat Cyprianus gradum, super quem ascendit diaconus ad legendum.”

⁵⁴ There is no little difference in the old books, as to the place where, and the quarter towards which the Gospel should be read. When as was very anciently the custom, the men and the women were divided, the Gospel it would seem, was always read towards the south side, where the men sat. *Amalarius.* *De Off.* lib. iii. c. 2. distinctly speaks of this arrangement: and an old *Ordo Romanus* takes it for granted that on entering a Church one would have the men upon the right hand, or south side, and the women on the north. See also *Amalarius.* *Ecloga.* cap. xij. Printed in *Georgius.* Appendix. tom. iii. p. 350. “Diaconus vero stat versus ad meridiem, ad quam partem viri solent confluere.”

The original reason why the men were addressed especially, appears natural enough: viz. that they are the chief objects of the Church’s teaching in her public Offices, and from them the women are to learn at home: as S. Paul admonishes. Other customs gradually crept in, and a mystical

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Et signet diaconum dicendo:

In nomine Patris etc.

Et sic procedat diaconus ipsum librum super sinistram manum solemniter gestando, ad pulpitum vel ad lectrinum accedat et dicat:

Dominus vobiscum.

Tunc faciendo crucem super librum cum dextro pollice dicat:

SSEQUENTIA⁵⁵ sancti evangelii vel Initium sancti evangelii.

Et signet seipsum in fronte cum eodem pollice dicens secundum. N.

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Et accepta benedictione, osculatur manum Celebrantis: et cum aliis ministris, incenso et luminalibus, accedens ad locum evangelii stans junctis manibus dicit v.

Dominus vobiscum.

R. Et cum spiritu tuo.

Et pronuntians:

SSEQUENTIA sancti evangelii secundum N sive Initium, pollice dextra manus signat librum in principio Evangelii, quod est lecturus, deinde seip-

reason was given why the Gospel should be read towards the north; as we have seen (Note 42) was the custom of the Church of Hereford: “ut per Dei verbum Aquilonis, hoc est, dæmonis, pravi noxiique halitus disjiciantur.” Le Brun, i. 111. And the *Genusa Animæ*, cap. xvij. “Nunc autem secundum inolitum morem se (Diaconus) ad Aquilonem vertit, ubi feminæ stant, quæ carnales significant, quia Evangelium carnales a spiritualibus vocat. Per Aquilonem quoque Diabolus designatur, qui per Evangelium impugnatur. Per Aquilonem etiam infidelis populus denotatur, cui Evangelium prædicatur, ut ad Christum convertatur.” This last reason is taken from a very old Sacramentary, which says: “Diaconus dum legit, sistat versus ad Aquilonem, quia frigidis in fide prædicatur Evangelium.” *Sala.* Notes to *Bona*, tom. iii. p. 153. But he does not say what Book. “Ex quodam libro Sacramentorum:” quoting *Martene*, *Anecdot.* tom. v. 1587.

I shall only further make an extract from the will of Maud, Lady Mauley: dated in 1438. “My body to be buried in the Church—on the south side of the Altar, where the Gospels are usually read.” *Testamenta Vetusta*, p. 235.

⁵⁵ *Sequentia* was said when the Gospel was taken from the middle of one of the four Gospels: *Initium*, when it happened to be the beginning of either of the four. On the four days of the Great Week, neither *Sequentia* nor *Initium* were said, but “*Passio Domini Nostri Jesu Christi*.” Thus, in the *Rites of the Church of Durham*: “Within the Abbye Church upon Good Friday, there was marvelous solemne service, in the which service time, after the Passion was sung, two of the eldest Monkes did take a goodly large Crneifix. &c.” p. 9.

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cum⁵⁶ faciat signum crucis super librum: deinde in sua fronte, et postea in pectore cum pollice.

Evangelium secundum N.⁵⁷

Lecto evangelio osculetur librum: et accedens subdiaconus statim porrigit ei textum quem ipse diaconus ex directo pectore deferat.

Finito evangelio.⁵⁸

Post lectum evangelium dicat sacerdos secrete:

⁵⁶ (*Dominis vobiscum.*) It is strange that the York Use takes no notice of this salutation: nor is it easy to suppose why it was omitted, being a custom so general throughout the Church. *Alcuin* speaks of it: " *Salutat et populum, dicens: Dominus vobiscum: quatenus corda illorum a mundanis cogitationibus Dominus emundet, et ad suscipienda verba salutifera aperire dignetur.*" *De Div. Off. Bibl. Patr. Auct.* i. p. 280. *Innocent the Third* also: " *Diaconus in ambone consistens salutat populum, dicens: Dominus vobiscum, illud observans, quod Dominus jussérat: 'In quamcunque domum intraveritis, &c.'*"

⁵⁷ " If thai singe messe or if thai seie,
The pater noster reherce al weie:
Til deken or prist tho gospel rede,
Stonde up then and take gode hede:
For then tho prist flyttes his boke,
North to that other auter noke:
And makes a cross upon the letter,
With his thoume he spedes tho better:
And sithen an other open his face,
For he has mikel nede of grace:
For then an ertbly mon shal never
Tho wordes of Ihū crist, gods son of heuen."

— " Whils hit is red speke thou noght,
Bot thenk on him that dere the boght:
Sayande thus in thi mynde,
Als thou shalt after wryten fynde." *Museum MS.*

⁵⁸ " *In fine Evangelii a ministris respondetur, Laus tibi Christe.*" *Rubr. gen. Miss. tit. x. 6.* Anciently was said *Amen*: which is still retained in the Mozarabic Missal.

⁵⁹ (*Finito evangelio. Sar.*) At this period of the service, or, in some churches, after the Creed, the sermon was preached, if there was to be any. Very anciently, more than one sermon was delivered: the Priests first, each in order, gave a short exhortation, and, if he were present, the Bishop, last. *Apost. Const. lib. ii. c. 58.* In the next chapter of the same book, particular directions are given, that Priests coming from another parish

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sum in fronte, ore, et pectore :
et dum ministri respondent :

GLORIA tibi Domine.

deinde legatur evangelium.

incensat ter librum, postea pro-
sequitur evangelium junctis
manibus.

Lecto evangelio deosculatur li-
brum :

Quo finito⁵⁸ Subdiaconus desert
librum Sacerdoti, qui osculatur
evangelium dicens :

should be pressed to preach, “for a stranger’s words are always acceptable and very useful, according to that in S. Matt. *no prophet is without honour save in his own country.*”

“ Deinde episcopus sermonem ad Populum facit.” *Gemma animæ*. cap. 25. This custom of preaching during the Liturgy has been established, and never omitted during the whole existence of the Christian Church. From the time of Justin Martyr we can trace a multitude of authorities, down to our own day. And it has always moreover been held to be one of the peculiar duties of the Bishops of the Church: as S. Paul exhorted Timothy, that he should “ Preach the word; instant in season and out of season.”

We find in the earliest records which remain of the English Church, evidence of the anxiety which was always felt to enforce this great duty of preaching. The viith of the excerpts of Egbert orders every Priest diligently to instruct his people: the iijrd explains the time when this is to be done. “ Ut omnibus festis et diebus Dominicis unusquisque sacerdos Evangelium Christi prædicet populo.” *Thorpe*. vol. ii. p. 98. Passing over some hundred years, we have the following among the Canons of Ælfric. “ The mass-priest shall on Sundays and mass-days, tell to the people the sense of the gospel in English, and concerning the pater-noster and the creed also, the oftenest that he can.—Let the teacher warn against that which the prophet says: *Caues muti non possunt latrare*. We ought to bark and preach to the laymen, lest, for want of teaching they should perish.” *Thorpe*. p. 352. Once more, for there would be no end of accumulating directions of this sort during succeeding ages. “ The mass-priest shall rightly preach the true faith to men, and recite sermons to them; and visit sick men, &c.” Ælfric’s Pastoral Epistle. p. 385. I am sorry to add, upon this subject, that speaking of the frequency of preaching in the Church of England before the Reformation, Bishop Stillingfleet has made the strangest statements, and drawn (against the direct evidence of his own authorities) the most outrageous conclusions. *Orig. Brit.* p. 236. Cf. *Van Espen*. Pars. ii. sect. i. tit. v. cap. 2. and *Synod. Trent. Sess. 22. cap. 8.*

In Masses for the Dead, when, as was frequently the custom, sermons relating to the character of the deceased were to be preached, or in short any

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Benedictus qui venit in
nomine Domini.Postea osculetur tex-
tum.

incipiat sacerdos in medio altaris :

Statim sacerdos in
medio altaris symbolum
fidei incipiat excelsa
voce :

CREDO in unum Deum.⁶¹ Patrem omnipotentem. Factorem
cœli et terræ: visibilium omnium et invisibilium. Et in
unum Dominum Jesum⁶² Christum, Filium Dei unigenitum. Et
ex Patre natum ante omnia sæcula. Deum de Deo, lumen de
lumine, Deum verum de Deo vero. Genitum non factum, con-
substantiale Patri: per quem omnia facta sunt. Qui propter
nos homines, et propter nostram salutem descendit de cœlis. Et
incarnatus est de Spiritu sancto ex Maria virgine: et homo fac-
tus est. Crucifixus etiam pro nobis sub Pontio Pilato: passus

sermon at all, it was not until the Service was over entirely, and the preacher (if also the Celebrant) laid aside the Chasuble and Maniple, and put on a Cope. See upon this: *Gavantus*, tom. i. p. 301. *Bauldry*, cap. 20. *Castaldus*, lib. ii. 9. and the *Cær. Episcop.* lib. ii. cap. 11.

After the Gospel also, were Indulgences proclaimed, and Excommunications, and Banns of Marriage. In some Churches other solemnities, such as the reconciling and readmitting of Penitents. Vide *Martene*, de Ant. Ritibus Ecc. lib. i. cap. 4. With the conclusion of the Sermon ended also the Missa Catechumenorum: and they, with the unreconciled, and unbelievers, were dismissed, and the doors shut, and persons stationed there, to prevent any from coming in. S. Augustin says, *Serm. 49*. “Ecce post Sermonem fit Missa Catechumenis, manebunt fideles.” Much information upon all this portion of the Liturgy, in the earliest ages, may be found in *Bingham’s Christian Antiquities*: on later practice, in *Bauldryus. Manualis Sacr. Cær. cap. x.*

⁶⁰ “Dum dicit, *Deum*, caput Crucis inclinat: quod similiter facit cum dicit, *Jesum Christum*, et simul adoratur. Ad illa autem verba, *Et incarnatus est*, genuflectit usque dum dicatur, *Et homo factus est*. In fine ad *Et ritam venturi sæculi*, signat se signo Crucis a fronte ad pectus.” *Rubr. Miss. Rom.*

⁶¹ “*Incipit Missa Fidelium.*” *Bona*. “*Missa Sacramentorum.*” *Ivo Carnotensis. Epist. 219.*

The first words only, according to the Sarum rubric, were to be said by the

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Per Evangelia dicta delean tur
nostra delicta.

*Deinde Sacerdos incensatur a
Diacono.*

*Et sacerdos stando in medio al-
taris manibus junctis aliquan-
tulum levatis dicat vel cantet:
et jungat manus prosequendo:*

*Deinde ad medium altaris ex-
tendens, elevans, et jungens
manus, dicit, si dicendum est, et
prosequitur junctis manibus: ⁶⁰*

CREDO in unum Deum. Patrem omnipotentem. Factorem
cœli et terræ: visibilium omnium et invisibilium. Et in
unum Dominum Jesum Christum, Filium Dei unigenitum. Et
ex Patre natum ante omnia saecula. Deum de Deo, lumen de
lumine, Deum verum de Deo vero. Genitum non factum, con-
substantiale Patri: per quem omnia facta sunt. Qui propter
nos homines, et propter nostram salutem descendit de cœlis. (*Et
sicut genuflexio dum dicitur. Herf. Hic genuflectitur. Rom.*) Et
incarnatus est de Spiritu sancto ex Maria virgine: et homo fac-

Celebrant: it continues, “Deinde cantetur a choro, non alternatim sed a
toto choro.”

“Hæc sunt festa quibus dicendum est *Credo* secundum usum Sarum.
Omnibus dominicis diebus per totum annum, ad magnam missam sive de
dominica agitur, sive non. In missis tamen vigiliarum et sanctorum trium
lectionum, et in missis defunctorum quæ in capitulo in dominicis dicuntur,
non dicitur. Sed si missa dominicalis in capitulo dicitur, tunc dicitur *Credo
in unum*. Dicitur etiam per octo dies nativitatis Domini, paschæ, et penthe-
costes: et in omni dupli festo per annum: et in omnibus festis apostolorum
et evangelistarum: et in utroque festo sanctæ crucis: et in festo sanctæ
Mariæ Magdalena: et in utroque festo sancti Michaelis: et in missa spon-
saliuum. Dicitur etiam ad missam de sancta Maria, quando ad missam de
die dicendum est per totum annum: et in festo alicujus saucti, in cuius
honore dedicatum est altare vel ecclesia, ad altare ejusdem sancti tantum.”
Rubr. Miss. Sar. With this agrees the Bangor Rubric: the York adds;
“in festo sancti Petri ad vincula, et in die octavarum. Et in cathedra
ejusdem. Et in utroque festo sancti Johannis Baptiste. In festo Corporis
Christi. Et in festo omnium sanctorum. Et in festo reliquiarum. Et in
festo sancti Willelmi in matrici ecclesia tantum. Et in festis quatuor doc-
torum, scilicet *Gregorii, Ambrosii, Augustini, et Hieronimi.*” The Here-
ford adds: “in festo sancti Ethelberti: in festo sceti Thomæ Herfordensis:
et in festo sancti Augustini Angliae Apostoli.” For the Roman Order, vide
Rubricæ generales Miss. tit. xi. 1.

⁶⁰ On bowing at the name of Jesus, and at the Gloria Patri, see among
others, two Constitutions in *Wilkins, Concilia.* tom. iii. p. 20.

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et sepultus est. Et resurrexit tertia die secundum scripturas. Et ascendit in cœlum: sedet ad dexteram Patris. Et iterum venturus est cum gloria judicare vivos et mortuos: cuius regni non erit finis. Et in Spiritum sanctum, Dominum et vivificantem: Qui ex Patre Filioque procedit. Qui cum Patre et Filio simul adoratur et conglorificatur: Qui locutus est per Prophetas. Et unam sanctam Catholicam et Apostolicam Ecclesiam. Confiteor unum baptisma in remissionem peccatorum. Et expecto resurrectionem mortuorum. Et vitam venturi sœculi. Amen.⁶³

Sequatur :

Post credo dicat sacerdos convertendo ad populum:

Dum canitur Credo subdiaconus cum textu: et acolytus cum thuribulo chorum circumstant. Post conversus sacerdos ad populum dicat:

DOMINUS vobis-
cum.⁶⁴

DOMI-
NUS
vobiscum.

DOMINUS vobis-
cum.

Et :

Iterum ad altare conversus dicat :

Reversus dicat :

OREMUS.⁶⁵

*Deinde dicitur Offerto-
rium.*⁶⁷

ORE-
MUS.

*Offertorium.*⁶⁶

OREMUS.

*Et canat cum suis mi-
nistris Offertorium.*

⁶³ “ Men oen to saie tho crede som tyme,
Wh'en thei saie hore, loke thou saie thyne :
This that folouse in englishe letter,
I wold thou sayde hit for tho better :
—Here to loke thou take good hede,
For here is wryten thin englyshe crede.” *Museum MS.*

⁶⁴ (*Vobiscum.*) “ Non enim hic digne numerus personarum, sed Ecclesiastice potius unitatis attenditur Sacramentum: ubi scilicet, nec unitas excludit multitudinem, nec multitudo violat unitatem: quia et unum corpus per multa membra dividitur, et ex diversis membris, unum corpus impletur. Nec in unitate corporis, membrorum multitudo confunditur: nec in pluralitate membrorum unius corporis integritas violatur.” *Petr. Damian.* cap. xijj.

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tus est. Crucifixus etiam pro nobis (*Et tunc fiet levatio. Herf.*) sub Pontio Pilato: passus et sepultus est. Et resurrexit tertia die secundum scripturas. Et ascendit in cœlum: sedet ad dexteram Patris. Et iterum venturus est cum gloria judicare vivos et mortuos: Cujus regni non erit finis. Et in Spiritum sanctum, Dominum et vivificantem: Qui ex Patre Filioque procedit. Qui cum Patre et Filio simul adoratur et conglorificatur: Qui locutus est per Prophetas. Et unam sanctam Catholicam et Apostolicam Ecclesiam. Confiteor unum baptisma in remissionem peccatorum. Et expecto resurrectionem mortuorum. Et vitam venturi sæculi. Amen.

Quo finito vertat se sacerdos ad Deinde osculatur altare, et versus ad populum dicit v.

DOMINUS vobiscum.

DOMINUS vobiscum.

R. Et cum spiritu tuo.
Postea dicit:

REMUS.

Deinde dicat Offertorium.

REMUS.

Et Offertorium.

⁶⁵ Some writers seem to make this the beginning of the “Missa Fidelium.” See *Le Brun*, tom. i. p. 136, and *Gerbert*, *De Musica*, tom. i. p. 431, with others. But this is not really opposed to the opinion of the great Ritualists cited above: and depends upon whether the Creed be said or not, either at certain seasons as in the majority of Churches, or as in others, not at all.

⁶⁶ “ After that, fast at hande,
Comes tho tyme of offrande:
Offer or leue whether ye lyst,
How thou shulde praye I wold thou wylst.” *Museum MS.*

⁶⁷ (*Offertorium.*) The verse is so called, which was sung just before the oblation of the elements by the Priest. And it was at this time that anciently

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Post offertorium vero porrigit diaconus sacerdoti calicem cum patena et sacrificio: et osculetur manum ejus utraque vice. Ipse vero accipiens ab eo calicem: diligenter ponat in loco suo debito super medium altare: et inclinato parumper elevet calicem utraque manu offerens sacrificium Domino, dicendo hanc orationem.

Postea lavet manus et componat hostiam⁶⁸ super corporales pannos et dicat:

the people made their offerings. A custom which is even now observed upon certain occasions in some Churches abroad, though fallen into otherwise total disuse in the Roman Communion. Another name, but not a common one, was “Sacrificium.” Very much information, I need scarcely remind the reader, is to be found respecting the ancient oblations of the people, the manner of offering, the quality, the restrictions, &c. in the writers both ancient and modern who have treated on the subject. Indeed so much, that in the compass of a note I am scarcely warranted in entering at all upon it: but I must extract a short passage from *Walafrid Strabo*. “Offertorium, quod inter offerendum cantatur, quamvis a prioris populi consuetudine in usum Christianorum venisse dicatur: tameu quis specialiter addiderit officiis nostris, aperte non legimus:—cum vere credamus priscis temporibus Patres sanctos silentio obtulisse, vel communicasse, quod etiam hactenus in sabbato sancto paschæ observamus. Sed sicut supradictum est, diversis modis, et partibus per tempora decus processit ecclesie, et usque in finem augeri non desinet.” *De reb. Eccles.* c. 22. A remark to the same effect occurs in *Radulp. Tungr. De Canon. observ.* *Prop. xxij.* and I shall add that the custom of singing at this time is as old as the age of S. Augustine, who speaks of it in his *Retract.* lib. 2. c. xj.

It is not easy to say, whether the most ancient practice was for the people to approach the Altar: probably not: certainly in the Greek Church: and there are various Canons of the Western which forbid women, after permission was given to men. *Theodulph Aurelian. Capitular. cap. 6.* And the viith of the Saxon Ecclesiastical Institutes, is directed to this point. “We also command, that, at those hours, in which the priest sings the mass, no woman approach near the Altar, but let them stand in their places, and the mass-priest will there receive from them the offering which they desire to offer to God. Women should bear in mind their infirmities, and the tenderness of their sex, and therefore they shall dread to touch any of the holy things, belonging to the services of the church.” *Thorpe. Antient Laws and Institutes.* vol. ii. 407.

The rule was, in the primitive ages, that nothing should be offered but was proper also to be consumed at the Altar, or at least in the service of the Church: and to this the famous Apostolical Canon is directed *Can. 3.*

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Quo dicto ministret ea quæ necessaria sunt sacramento: scilicet panem, vinum et aquam in calicem infundens: benedictione aquæ prius a sacerdote petita hoc modo:

BENEDICITE.

Sacerdote sic dicente:

DOMINUS. Ab ipso sis benedicta, de cuius la-

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Quo dicto, Diaconus porrigit Celebranti patenam cum Hostia: quam offerens, sacerdos dicit:

Afterwards this was further limited to bread and wine, and water, only, by the people: and all else, when offered was looked upon not as for the Sacrifice, but in a lower respect: as first fruits and pious gifts for the use of the Church and her Ministers.

An old *Ordo Romanus* cited by *Bona*, lib. 2. cap. ix. § 1. thus describes the manner of offering. “Cantores cantant offertorium cum versibus, et populus dat oblationes suas, id est panem et vinum, et offerunt cum Fanonibus candidis, primo masculi, deinde fœminæ. Novissime vero Sacerdotes, et Diaconi offerunt, sed solum panem.” These *fanones* as *Cassander* explains were napkins. The *offertorium cum versibus* relates to a period when the custom of the people really offering was not neglected: and then not only verses, but even whole Psalms were added to the *Offertory proper*; and sometimes, for the collecting took much time, these were sung and repeated again and again. Certainly the Church of England, when she restored the excellent practice of the people’s offering before the Communion, had the highest authority of antiquity both for that, and for the many verses (though not of Psalms) which she has directed to be said by the Priest.

It is not known when the old custom ceased: the author of the *Gemma Animæ* is a witness that money was given instead in his day, the xith Century: and he states a reason for the change “Quia populo non communicante, non erat necesse, panem tam magnum fieri, statutum est, eum in modum denarii formari; et ut populus pro oblatione farinæ denarios offerret.” Cap. 58. And he adds: “Qui tamen denarii in usum pauperum qui membra sunt Christi cederent, vel in aliquid quod ad hoc sacrificium pertinet.”

This part of the Liturgy is sometimes called, the “Missa omnium Offerentium.” Vide *Pinius. De Lit. Ant. Hisp.* p. 91.

⁶⁸ This is the same as that which is called “Sacrificium” in the Sarum and Bangor rubrics, and in its own succeeding prayer, “Acceptum sit:” doubtless, as being that which is about to be consecrated, and offered to the Almighty Father as the Body of his Son. Speaking of this Oblation, *Amalarius* says: “facit eam transire per suam secretam orationem ad nomen hostiæ, sive munericis, donive, vel sacrificii, seu oblationis.” *Præf. 2. de Eccles. Off.*

Oratio.

SUSCIPE, sancta Trinitas, hanc oblationem quam ego (miser et, Ebor.) indignus peccator offero in honore tuo et beatæ Mariæ, et omnium sanctorum tuorum, pro peccatis et offenditionibus meis: pro salute vivorum et requie (omnium, Sarum.) fidelium defunctorum. In nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus sancti. Amen.

*Item calicem cum vino
et aqua⁷⁰ et dicat:*

ACCEPTUM sit omnipotenti Deo, sacrificium istud: in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti. Amen.

Dicta oratione *Qua dicta*
reponat calicem, et cooperiat cum corporalibus: ponatque panem super corporalia decenter, ante calicem vinum et aquam continentem, et osculetur patenam et reponat eam a dextris super altare sub corporalibus, parum cooperiendo.

⁶⁹ (*Immaculatum.*) A word found only in the Roman Use: and can be used solely with reference to the All-pure Body, which it is about to be.

⁷⁰ Upon the mixing of water with the wine, I have spoken at some length in the Preface. During the Mixture, in the Ambrosian Missal, there was

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tere exivit sanguis et aqua. In nomine Patris. etc. Amen.

Et postea sumat patenam cum hostia et ponat super calicem, et tenens calicem in manibus suis, dicat devote :

SUSCIPE, sancta Trinitas, hanc oblationem quam tibi offero in memoriam passionis Domini nostri Jesu Christi, et praesta, ut in conspectu tuo tibi placens ascendat, et meam et omnium fidelium salutem operetur aeternam, per Christum.

Qua dicta reponat calicem, et cooperiat eum cum corporalibus: ponatque panem super corporalia decenter, ante calicem vinum et aquam continentem, et osculetur patenam: et reponat eam a dextris super altare sub corporalibus, parum cooperiendo.

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SUSCIPE sancte Pater, omnipotens aeternae Deus, hanc immaculatam⁶⁹ Hostiam, quam ego indignus famulus tuus offero tibi Deo meo vivo et vero, pro innumerabilibus peccatis et offenditionibus et negligentiis meis, et pro omnibus circumstantibus, sed et pro omnibus fidelibus Christianis vivis atque defunctis: ut mihi et illis proficiat ad salutem in vitam aeternam. Amen.

Deinde faciens Crucem cum calice patena, deponit Hostiam super corporale. Diaconus ministrat vinum, subdiaconus aquam in Calice: et aquam miscendam in Calice sacerdos benedicit, ♣ dicens:⁷¹

DEUS, qui humanæ substantiæ dignitatem mirabiliter condidisti, et mirabilius reformasti: da nobis per hujus aquæ et vini mysterium, ejus Divinitatis esse consortes, qui

appointed to be said: "De latere Christi exivit sanguis et aqua pariter."

⁷¹ This and the following prayers before the *Secret* were added to the Roman Use about the year 1050, and are still omitted in many of the Monastic Missals.

⁷² The use of *Offerimus* and not *Offero*, as before in the oblation of the Bread, is very remarkable; nor is *Bona's* note less important. “ Regredior ad Sacerdotem, qui Calicem aqua mixtum Deo offert dicens, *Offerimus*, &c. cumque in panis oblatione singulariter dixerit *Offero*, hic pluraliter ait *Offerimus*, quia nimirum Romano Ritu eandem Orationem simul cum Sacerdote in Missa solemni recitat Diaconus, qui antea vinum Calici infudit, et olim Sanguinem populo ministrabat. Neque obstat, quod privatae Missæ sine Diacono celebrantur, et nihilominus Sacerdos dicit *Offerimus*, quia formulæ pro solemni Missa institutæ in privata non mutantur.” Tom. iii. p. 217. Compare *Sala's* Note upon this passage.

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humanitatis nostræ fieri dignatus est particeps, Jesus Christus Filius tuus Dominus noster: Qui tecum vivit et regnat in unitate Spiritus sancti Deus, per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Postea accipit Calicem, et offert, dicens :

OFFERIMUS ⁷² tibi, Domine, calicem salutaris, tuam deprecantes clementiam : ut in conspectu divinæ Majestatis tuæ, pro nostra et totius mundi salute cum odore suavitatis ascendat. Amen.⁷³

Deinde facit signum Crucis cum Calice, et illum ponit super corporale, et palla cooperit; tum junctis manibus super altare, aliquantulum inclinatus dicit :

IN spiritu humilitatis, et in animo contrito suscipiamur a te Domine: et sic fiat sacrificium nostrum in conspectu tuo hodie, ut placeat tibi, Domine Deus.

Erectus expandit manus, easque in altum porrectas jungens,

⁷² After this prayer, the Subdeacon (at High Mass) is ordered by the *Ritus celebr. Missam*. tit. vii. 9. to receive the Paten from the Deacon, and hold it covered with the veil, standing behind the Priest, until the *Pater noster*. I mention this, as it seems to be a relic of a very ancient custom; and now observed, merely through a tradition, without any particular object. When the people were in the habit of making large oblations, and these were to be offered upon the Paten, this latter was of course proportionably large: and having thus answered its purpose, was for a time removed, in order that it might not incommodate or interfere with the Priest in the discharge of his Office.

Hoc peracto accipiat thuribulum a diacono et thurifaciat sacrificium: videlicet ultra ter signum crucis faciens, et in circuitu et ex utraque parte calicis et sacrificii: deinde locum inter se et altare. Et dum thurifaciat dicat:

DIRIGATUR Domine ad te oratio mea, sicut incensum in conspectu tuo.

⁷⁴ “Quamvis ergo in hac invocatione nec Spiritus Sanctus expressis verbis nominetur, et nonnullæ voces insint, quæ Deum Patrem designare videntur: unum tamen verbum, *Veni*, palam facit Ecclesiam ad Deum Patrem se non convertere, quippe quæ ex sacræ Scripturæ loquendi more, non nisi Personarum duarum alterutrum quæ missæ fuerunt, aut Filium scilicet, aut Spiritum Sanctum invocare consuevit. Quinimmo cum ad Patrem refertur oratio, dici solet: mitte Spiritum sanctum; seu quoad Filium, mitte Redemptorem, Agnum mitte, qui mundi peccata delet. Cum autem hoc loco intelligi nequeat precem ad Filium spectare, necessaria consecutione sit Spiritum Sanctum designari.” *Le Brun.* tom. i. 160.

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elevatis ad cælum oculis, et statim dimissis, dicit :

VENI⁷⁴ sanctificator, omnipotens aeterne Deus :
benedicit oblata, prosequendo,
et bene ✠ dic hoc sacrificium
tuo sancto nomini præparatum.
Postea⁷⁵ benedicit incensum dicens :

PER intercessionem beati Michaelis Archangeli stantis a dextris altaris incensi, et omnium electorum suorum, incensum istud dignetur Dominus bene ✠ dicere, et in odorem suavitatis accipere. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

Et accepto thuribulo a Diacono,
incensat oblata, dicens :

INCENSUM istud a te benedictum, ascendat ad te Domine, et descendat super nos misericordia tua.

Deinde incensat altare dicens :
Ps. 140.

DIRIGATUR, Domine, oratio mea sicut incensum in conspecto tuo : elevatio ma-

⁷⁵ The Deacon is here directed to say, “ministrante naviculam, *Benedicite Pater reverende.*” *Ritus celebr. tit. viij. 10.* The plural is used, according to a custom which became general from about the viith Century, of thus addressing persons of dignity, or to whom from their peculiar offices, reverence was due. This was certainly later than the age of S. Jerome, or of S. Augustine, who writing to the Bishops of Rome, say : “tua Beatus,” “Sanctitas tua,” and the like. But on the contrary, “Beatus vestra” and “Reverentia vestra” are common in the Epistles of S. Gregory at the end of the 6th Century. The term “Sanctitas vestra” is to be found, as applied to a Council, about A.D. 390. *Concil. Carthag.*

*Postea thurificetur ipse
sacerdos ab ipso diacono : et subdiaconus de-
ferat ei textum deoscu-
landum : deinde acoly-
tus thurificet chorum.⁷⁶*

*His itaque peractis : eat sacerdos ad dextrum cornu⁷⁷ altaris, et abluat manus⁷⁸ Interim laret manus et
dicat :*

dicens :

⁷⁶ “ Incipiens a rectoribus chori. Deinde superiorem gradum ex parte cantoris. Eodem ordine secundas, exinde primas formas : ita quod ipse puer singulos clericos incensando illis inclinet: subsecente illum diacono cum textu ab omnibus deosculando. Si episcopus celebraverit et duplex festum fuerit, duo venient cum thuribulis, et duo subdiaconi cum duobus textibus vel reliquiis. Si autem episcopus non celebraverit, et duplex festum fuerit : textum deferat acolytus ex parte cantoris. Primo autem thurificandus est cantor qui stat in medio chori cum cæteris rectoribus chori, scilicet in festis majoribus duplicebus tantum : deinde principales rectores chori ex utraque parte sunt, exinde duo rectores secundarii, postea chorus more solito eodem quoque ordine sequantur textus. Quando vero non dicitur *Credo*, tunc immediate post *Oremus* et *Offertorium* accedat diaconus et offerat sacerdoti calicem cum patena, et cætera solito more expleantur: et thurificet totum sacrificium more solito. Sed chorus non thurificetur. Nunquam enim incensatur chorus post evangelium ad missam, nisi quando dicitur *Credo*, sed tunc semper.” *Rubr. Miss. Sar.*

⁷⁷ The reader will find some remarks above, Note 19. as to which side is here meant. In almost all Churches, I believe, we find the Piscina upon the Epistle side of the Altar. S. Cyril testifies to the antiquity of this observance during the Holy Service, and teaches us its meaning. “ Ye saw

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nuum mearum sacrificium vespertinum. Pone, Domine, custodiam ori meo, et ostium circumstantiae labiis meis: ut non declinet cor meum in verba malitia, ad excusandas excusationes in peccatis.

Dum reddit thuribulum Diacono, dicit:

ACCENDAT in nobis Dominus ignem sui amoris, et flammarum æternæ charitatis. Amen.

Postea incensatur Sacerdos a Diacono, deinde alii per ordinem.

Et postea eat ad ablendum manus suas. Et in eundo dicat totum hymnum: *Interim sacerdos lavat manus dicens: Ps. 25.*

then the Deacon give to the Priest water to wash, and to the Presbyters who stood round God's altar. He gave it, not at all because of bodily defilement; no; for we did not set out for the Church with defiled bodies. But this washing of hands is a symbol that ye ought to be pure from all sinful and unlawful deeds: for since the hands are a symbol of action, by washing them we represent the purity and blamelessness of our conduct. Hast thou not heard the blessed David opening this mystery, and saying, *I will wash my hands in innocence, and so will I compass thine Altar, O Lord?* The washing therefore of hands is a symbol of immunity from sin." *Catechetical Lect.* Oxf. Trans. p. 273.

So also we are told in the *Apostolical Const.* b. viii. c. 11. The water which at this time is poured upon the Priest's hands, "is a sign of the purity which befits a soul consecrated to God."

⁷⁸ " Saye pater noster, get up standande,
Al tho tyme tho prist is wasshande:
Til after washing tho priste wil loute
Tho auter, and sithen turne aboute:
Then he askes with stille steven, (*in singing*: "stave.")
Hlk monnes prayers to god of heuen." *Museum MS.*

SARUM.

BANGOR.

EBOR.

LAVABO inter in-
nocentes manus
meas: et circumdabo
altare tuum, Domine.
Et hymnum:
VENI creator spi-
ritus, mentes tu-
orum.

MUNDA me Domine ab omni in-
quinamento mentis et corporis:
ut possim mundatus implere opus sanc-
tum Domini.

*Deinde revertat se, et
stans ante altare incli-
natoque capite et cor-
pore, junctis manibus
dicat orationem:*

*Diaconus inte-
rim ipsum al-
tare in sinistro
cornu thurifi-
cante et reli-
quias more so-
lito in circu-
iter. Ablutis
manibus sacer-
dos revertat se
ad altare ad
divinum servi-
tium exequen-
dum: diaconus
et subdiaconus
suis gradibus
supradicto mo-
do se teneant.*

*Deinde sacer-
dos stans ante
altare inclinato
capite et cor-
pore, junctis
manibus dicat:*

*Postea ante medium
altaris inclinatus dicat:*

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LAVABO inter innocentes
manus meas. etc.: usque
in finem: *Cum Gloria Patri et*
Sicut erat.

VENI creator. *excepto ver-*
su, Dudum sacrata. Cum
versu, Emitte spiritum tuum,
et creabuntur. Et renovabis
faciem terræ.

Oratio.

URE igne sancti Spiritus
renes nostros et cor nos-
trum, Domine, ut tibi casto cor-
pore serviamus et mundo corde
placeamus. Per Christum Do-
minum nostrum.

Postea revertatur in medium
altaris, stando et inclinando se
ad altare conjunctis manibus, et
dicat :

Deinde aliquantum inclinatus in
medio altaris, junctis manibus
super eo, dicit :

SARUM.

BANGOR.

EBOR.

IN spiritu humilitatis et in animo contrito suscipiamur, Domine, a te: et sic fiat sacrificium nostrum (in conspectu tuo: *Sarum*) ut a te suscipiatur hodie, et placeat tibi Domine Deus. (meus. *Ebor.*)

Et erigens se deosculatetur altare a dextris sacrificii: et dans benedictionem ultra sacrificium, postea signet se, dicens:

Et inclinando et ingrediendo osculetur altare, et signet sacrificium dicendo:

SIT signatum  ordinatum  et sanctificatum  hoc sacrificium nostrum.

IN nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus sancti. Amen.

Deinde vertat se sacerdos ad populum, et tacita voce dicat:

Post versus ad populum dicat:

⁷⁹ Micrologus says, which proves that in his time there was little authority for the use of this prayer: “ Deinde inclinatus ante altare dicat hanc orationem, non ex aliquo ordine, sed ex ecclesiastica consuetudine.” It does not occur in either of the English Uses: and there is no reason to regret that it never was introduced. Independently of objectionable matter, it savours of anything but antiquity, and contains a passage which the

HERFORD.

IN spiritu humilitatis et animo contrito suscipiamur a te, Domine: et sic fiat sacrificium nostrum ut a te suscipiatur hodie, et placeat tibi Domine Deus.

Tunc erigat se, et osculetur altare in dextra parte calicis.

Deinde teneat manus suas iunctas supra calicem et dicat :

VENI Sanctificator, omnipotens aeternæ Deus.

Tunc signet calicem dicens :

BENE ✠ DIC et sanctifica hoc sacrificium, quod tibi est præparatum.

Et signet se ipsum :

IN nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus sancti. Amen.

Deinde vertat se ad populum et dicat :

Rom.

SUSCIPERE,⁷⁹ sancta Trinitas, hanc oblationem, quam tibi offerimus ob memoriam passionis, resurrectionis, et ascensionis Jesu Christi Domini nostri: et in honore beatæ Mariæ semper virginis, et beati Joannis Baptiste, et sanctorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli, et istorum et omnium Sanctorum: ut illis proficiat ad honorem, nobis autem ad salutem: et illi pro nobis intercedere dignenter in cœlis, quorum memoriam agimus in terris. Per eundem Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

Postea osculatur altare, et versus ad populum,

acutest writers of the Church of Rome feel to be a difficulty, and fail satisfactorily to explain: viz. "ut illis proficiat ad honorem." Like the famous prayer in the Offertory of the *Missa defunctorum*, "Libera animas omnium Fidelium defunctorum de poenis Inferni—ne absorbeat eas Tartarus, ne cadant in obscurum," no one is allowed to be a Catholic who rejects it, or takes it in any other than an unnatural and twisted sense.

SARUM.

BANGOR.

EBOR.

ORATE⁸⁰ fratres⁸¹ et sorores⁸² pro me: ut meum pariterque vestrum⁸³ acceptum (aptum, *Bangor.*) sit Domino Deo (nstro, *Bangor.*) sacrificium.

*Responsio cleri privati:**Responsio choristeri privatim:*

SPIRITUS sancti gratia illuminet cor tuum et labia tua, et accipiat Dominus digne hoc sacrificium laudis de manibus tuis, pro peccatis et offensionibus nostris.

ORATE fratres et sorores pro me peccatore: ut meum pariterque vestrum Domino Deo acceptum sit sacrificium.

Chorus secrete respondet:

EXAUDIAT te Dominus in die tribulationis: usque Memor sit omnis sacrificii tui.

Et reversus ad altare sacerdos: ⁸⁴ secretas orationes⁸⁵ dicat juxta numerum antedictarum et ordinem ante epistolam,

Post versus ad altare dicat secretas: et concludat:

⁸⁰ .. And thenk then for thi synn,
Thou art noght worthe to praye for hym:
Bot when thou prayes God lokes thi wille,
If hit be gode forgetis thin ille." *Museum MS.*

⁸¹ (*Fratres.*) Cæcilius in the Dialogue of *Minucius Felix* complains that the Christians made use of this term, in addressing one another, taking it in the abominable sense in which the Pagans abused it: to which Octavius replies: "Sic nos quod invidetis Fratres vocamus, ut unius Dei parentis homines, ut consortes fidei, ut spei cohæredes." See this argument well treated in a tract by *Kortholtus*, "de Calumniis Paganorum in veteres Christianos sparsis." p. 168.

⁸² (*Orate fratres et sorores. Sar.*) "Se quidem Sacerdos comparat, ut in *Sancta Sanctorum* pedem inferat, et ut ita dicam, Fidelibus vale dicit, quos non ante visurus est, quam Sacrificium consummaverit." *Le Brun.* tom. i. p. 182. The custom of saying "et sorores," is to be found in some very ancient Missals: but does not seem to have been at any time adopted into the Roman Use.

⁸³ (*Ut meum pariterque vestrum.*) The 5th Chapter of *Part 2, Sect. 1.* of *Van Espen's Jus Ecclesiasticum Universum*, concerns the "Honorarium:" a payment in money *extra Missam* which took the place of the old offerings, and these of course could only be made by those who were present, and communicants. After a disquisition upon the benefit (if any) which can be procured by purchasing of Masses, he concludes: "Et licet Sacerdos etiam

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ORATE fratres ad Dominum, ut meum pariter et vestrum in conspectu Domini acceptum sit sacrificium.

ROM.

ORATE fratres: ut meum ac vestrum sacrificium acceptabile fiat apud Deum Patrem omnipotentem.

Minister, seu circumstantes respondent:

SUSCIPiat Dominus sacrificium de manibus tuis ad laudem et gloriam nominis sui, ad utilitatem quoque nostram, totiusque Ecclesiae suæ sanctæ.

*Sacerdos submissa voce dicit,
Amen.*

*Deinde, manibus extensis, absolute sine Oremus⁸⁶ subjugit
Orationes secretas.*

Tunc reversus ad altare secrete dicat: Oremus. Deinde dicat sub silentio secretas eodem modo

pro absentibus orare et Sacrificium offerre queat: nihilominus indubitatum est; et constat ex precibus, quae tempore Sacrificii dicuntur, Missam specialiter pro circumstantibus, sive praesentibus offerri: ipsosque fideles praesentes una cum Sacerdote offerre; adeo ut ipse Sacerdos conversus ad populum dicat: “Orate Fratres: ut meum &c.” *Hinc Ecclesia a suis primordiis rigide mandavit fidelibus, diebus Dominicis festisque Missarum solemnibus devote assistere: at nullibi mandavit, ut quis missam pro se celebrari curet.*⁸⁴

⁸⁴ “Then tho prest gos to his boke,
His preny prayers for to loke:
Knele thou doun and say then this,
That next in blak wryten is:
It wil thi prayere mikel amende,
If thou wil holde up bothe thi hende:
To god with gode deuocion,
When thou sayes this oreson.” *Museum MS.*

⁸⁵ These *Secrets* varied with the day, as did the Collects or Gradual, &c.: and were sometimes one only, sometimes more. In ancient MSS. we commonly find these prayers called “super oblata,” and although *Analarius*, lib. 3. cap. 20, with others of no less authority, decide that the name *Secreta* was given, because they were said *secreto*, yet it is not improbable that the name arose “a secrezione donorum et oblationum.” These prayers are entitled in the Sarum, York, and the other English Missals, sometimes

SARUM.

ita incipiens :

OREMUS.Quibus finitis dicat sa-
cerdos aperta voce :**P**ER omnia⁸⁷ sæcu-
la sæculorum.

Manibus non levatis donec dicitur Sur-
sum corda. Et tunc accipiat subdiaconus offertorium (sudarium. Bangor) et
patenam, de manu diaconi, ipsam pate-
nam tenendam quousque Pater noster di-
citur : quam acolyto offertorio coopertam
committat in gradu, scilicet post diaco-
num interim constituto.

BANGOR.

ita dicens :

OREMUS.

Et cum per
venerit ad ul-
timum Per do-
minum dicat
usque ad Per
omnia sæcu-
la sæculorum,
quod aperta
voce incipiat le-
gere sive can-
tare cum præ-
fatione.

EBOR.

PER Dominum nos-
trum Jesum Chris-
tum filium tuum : qui
tecum vivit et regnat
in unitate Spiritus
sancti Deus.

Et dicat :

PER omnia sæcula
sæculorum.
Cum alta voce.

Et sequatur præfatio.

secretum : but the usual way of speaking of them, is the “ *secretæ*,” i.e. orationes.

⁸⁶ (*Sine Oremus*. Rom.) This seems a remarkable variation from the English rubrics. The reason of it is said to be, because in the Roman Church, all the prayers which come between the *Offertory* and the *Secret*, have been considered (since they were introduced) as a part of that prayer : and to be included in the *Oremus* before the *Offertory*.

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et ordine quo collectæ dictæ fuerunt ante epistolam.

ROM.

Quibus dictis,

Quibus finitis, cum pervenerit ad conclusionem, clara voce dicit:

PER omnia sæcula sæculo-rum.

ponat manus super altare et dicat præfationem.

Cum Præfatione. Præfatio incipitur ambabus manibus positis hinc inde super altare: quas aliquantulum elevat, cum dicit Sursum corda. Jungit eas ante pectus, et caput inclinat, cum dicit, Gratias agamus Domino Deo nostro. Deinde disjungit manus, et disjunctas tenet usque ad finem Præfationis: qua finita, iterum jungit eas, et inclinatus dicit, Sanctus. Et cum dicit, Benedictus qui venit, signum Crucis sibi producit a fronte ad pectus.

⁶⁷ " Then he begynnes per omnia,
And sithen sursum corda:
At tho ende sayes sanctus thryse,
In excelsis he neuens twyse:
Als fast as ever yt he has done,
Loke tho thou be redy sone:
And say these wordis with stille steven,
Prively to god of heuen." *Museum MS.*

SARUM.

BANGOR.

EBOR.

Hoc modo incipientur⁸⁸ omnes præfationes⁸⁹ ad missam per totum annum, tam in feriis quam in festis :

PER omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen. Dominus vobiscum.⁹⁰ Et cum spiritu tuo. *Hic elevet sacerdos manus dicens: Sursum corda.⁹¹ Habeamus ad Dominum. Gratias agamus Domino Deo nostro. Dignum et justum est.*

PER omnia sæcula sæculorum. Dominus vobiscum. Sursum corda. Gratias agamus Domino Deo nostro.

⁸⁸ (*Incipliantur.*) Properly the “Per omnia sæcula sæculorum” is not the beginning of the Preface, but the conclusion of the Secret. But from the custom of the Priest’s here raising his voice, and the Preface immediately succeeding, it not unnaturally though incorrectly, would be so looked upon.

⁸⁹ (*Præfationes.*) So called, as being an introduction to the Canon or solemn part of the Service. In the Greek Church only one Preface is used: anciently in the West there was a greater number than at present: which was about the twelfth century reduced to ten. Pope Pelagius (in a letter to the Bishops of Gaul, quoted by almost all the Ritualists) enumerates nine Prefaces only, proper to certain days. These are mentioned in the Leofric Missal, preserved in the Bodleian Library, and I shall quote the passage, on account of the celebrity of that volume.

“*Epistola Pelagii Papæ.* Pelagius sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ episcopus novum præfationes tantum modo mandat esse observandas. Unam in natale Domini. Quia per incarnati verbi. Aliam in quadragesima. Qui corporali jejunio. Tertiam in pascha. Te quidem omni tempore. Quartam in ascensione Domini. Quintam in Pentecoste. Sextam de sancta Trinitate. Septimam de sancta cruce. Octavam de Apostolicis. Novam pro defunctis.”

To these a tenth was afterwards added, in honour of the Blessed Virgin, which is mentioned as to be used also in the English Church, by the 14th Canon of the Synod of Westminster, A. D. 1175. *Wilkins. Concilia. tom. i. p. 478.*

As to the Epistle of Pelagius, just cited, I must observe that Cardinal Bona doubts its authenticity: his observations should be consulted. *Lib. ii. cap. 10.* And the very learned Stephen Baluze agrees with Bona: to which we must add that the Epistle is rejected by *Labbe* and *Cossart*, *Cone. tom. v. p. 931.* In some of the most ancient MSS. which are extant, for example, the famous one formerly Queen Christina’s of Sweden, now in the Vatican, the Preface is called *Immolatio*, and sometimes, *Contestatio Missæ*, because, says *Bona*, “in ea Sacerdos audita voce populi, vel Cleri, sive

HERFORD.

Ad dicendam vel cantandam præfationem, erigat se sacerdos honeste, et ponat manus super altare ex utraque parte calicis, et dicat hoc modo :

PER omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen. Dominus vobiscum. Et cum spiritu tuo. Sursum corda. Habemus ad Dominum. Gratias agamus Domino Deo nostro. Dignum et justum est.

ROM.

Sequens Præfatio dicitur per annum in omnibus Festis et Feriis quæ propriam non habent :

Ministri asserentis dignum et justum esse Deo gratias agere, contestatur veram esse hanc populi assertionem: tum solemni gratiarum actione se et fideles disponit ad tremenda mysteria, quibus Christi corpus immolatur.” It is styled in the Mozarabic Missal, *Inlatio*: of which there appears to be no satisfactory interpretation.

The Preface is of that high antiquity, occurring in the Liturgy of S. James, and being spoken of by S. Cyprian, S. Cyril, and other Fathers, as of common use in their time, that we cannot attribute its introduction to any age later than the Apostolic.

⁹⁰ There is no direction here, and probably the custom of the Church of England was, at this “ Dominus vobiscum,” not to turn, as at all other such salutations, toward the people, but continue still to face the Altar. I mention it on account of the reason of this, having by some been referred to the very ancient practice of the Greek Churches, of shutting in the Sanctuary at this time, and enclosing the Priest within the curtains, and a veil: which, of course, would so far account for it, as he and the people could not for a time see one another. Vide, *Cavalieri. Opera. tom. v. p. 65.* and *Le Brun. tom. i. p. 186.* But compare also *Amalarius. lib. iii. cap. 9.* who gives other reasons for the exception in this case.

⁹¹ *Sursum corda.)* This invitation is to be found in all the Liturgies both of the Eastern and Western Churches: and without doubt is of Apostolical authority. S. Cyprian especially alludes to it, in his treatise *de Oratione Dominica. Opera. p. 213.* “ Sacerdos ante orationem præfatione præmissa, parat fratrum mentes dicendo, *Sursum Corda,*” &c. And S. Augustine: “ Tenetis sacramenta ordine suo. Primo post orationem admonemini sursum habere cor. Ideo enim cum dicitur, *Sursum cor, respondetis: Habemus ad Dominum.* Sequitur Episcopus vel Presbyter qui offert, et dicit, *Gratias agamus Domino Deo nostro; et vos attestamini, Dignum et justum est.*” *Serm. 217. Edit. Benedict.* In some of the old Sacramentaries, the Canon begins with the words, “ *Sursum Corda.*” As in the Gelasian. *Thomas. Codex. Sac. pag. 196.*

Hæc præfatio est quotidiana.

VERE dignum et justum est, æquum et salutare, nos tibi semper, et ubique gratias agere: Domine sancte, Pater omnipotens, æterne Deus: per Christum Dominum nostrum. Per quem Majestatem tuam laudant Angeli, adorant Dominationes, tremunt Potestates. Cœli, cœlorumque virtutes, ac beata seraphin, socia exultatione concelebrant. Cum quibus et nostras voces, ut admitti jubeas deprecamur, supplici confessione dicentes:

*Sequitur Sanctus.⁹² Dum sacerdos dicit
Sanctus, sanctus, erigat parumper bra-
chia sua et jungat manus suas, usque ad
hæc verba In nomine Domini: tunc sem-
per signet se in facie sua.*

SANCTUS, Sanctus, Sanctus,⁹³ Dominus Deus Sabaoth. Pleni sunt cœli et terra gloria tua: osanna in excelsis. Benedic-tus qui venit in nomine Domini: osanna in excelsis.⁹⁴

*Deinde confestim ma-
nibus junctis et oculis
elevatis incipiat Te igi-
tur clementissime Pa-*

⁹² This is the Seraphic Hymn: and called “Epinicion” or triumphal, by the Greeks. It is not possible to say at how early a period it was added to the Liturgy: most probably from the very first. Some have attributed its introduction to Pope Sixtus the 1st, but which proves its very great antiquity, he did not introduce it, but ordered that it should be begun by the Priest, and continued by the people with him. This is stated also by *Baronius A.D. 142.* See *Bona*: and *Cavalieri. tom. v. p. 66.* This hymn, as the “Gloria in excelsis,” was in some churches mutilated and defaced by interpolations: it is to these that Archbishop Lanfranc alludes in his Statutes, cap. 5, where he orders all to bow towards the Altar during its recitation, “nisi versus interponantur.” *Opera. p. 279.* Vide also *Gerbert. tom. i. p. 445.*

Goar, in his notes to the Liturgy of S. Chrysostom, reckons four Liturgical Hymns. 1. Gloria in Excelsis. 2. The Cherubic: “Qui Cherubin mystice &c.” which is sung before the great Introit: 3. “Sanctus Deus, Sanctus Fortis,” daily sung by the Greeks, and once a year upon Good Friday; in the Latin Church: and 4. The Epinicion, “Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus.” *P. 136.*

HERFORD.

ROM.

VERE dignum et justum est, aequum et salutare, nos tibi semper, et ubique gratias agere: Domine sancte, Pater omnipotens, aeterne Deus: per Christum Dominum nostrum. Per quem Majestatem tuam laudant Angeli, adorant Dominationes, tremunt Potestates. Cœli, cœlorumque virtutes, ac beata seraphin, socia exultatione concelebrant. Cum quibus et nostras voces, ut admitti jubeas deprecamur, supplici confessione dicentes:

Tunc sacerdos elevans aliquantulum brachia junctis manibus dicat: Sanctus, et signet seipsum dicens, Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini.

Sacerdos inclinatus dicit: Sanctus. Et cum dicit Benedictus qui venit, signum Crucis sibi producit a fronte ad pectus.

SANCTUS, Sanctus, Sanctus, Dominus Deus Sabaoth. Pleni sunt cœli et terra gloria tua: osanna (Hosanna, *Rom.*) in excelsis. Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini: osanna (Hosanna, *Rom.*) in excelsis.

Postea sacerdos adorans crucifixum dicat:

ADORAMUS te,⁹⁵ Christe,
et benedicimus tibi, quia

Sala, in his additions to *Bona*, remarks that the words, “Osanna—in excelsis,” are added by the authority of the Church to this hymn: as if, quoting *Natalis Alexander*: “ostendatur Adventum Domini in carne non solum humani generis in terra, sed et Angelorum in Cœlis esse quodam modo salutem: quia dum nos redempti ad superna perducimur, eorum munerus Sathanæ cadente imminutus impletur.” *Micrologus* also observes: cap. xj. “Presbyter post finitam secretam orditur Præfationem in Canonem, in qua supernorum Civium Ordines merito commumerantur, quia iisdem mysteriis, quæ ibi conficiuntur, juxta attestationem Sanctorum Patrum, interesse creduntur, unde et Angelicum Trisagium subjungitur.”

⁹³ The rest of this passage “Dominus Deus Sabaoth—osanna in excelsis,” omitted in *Missal Leofrici*.

⁹⁴ “In omnibus festis beatæ Mariæ virginis ac etiam commemorationibus ejusdem, dicitur sic: Benedictus Mariæ filius qui venit in nomine Domini, osanna in excelsis.” *Rubr. Miss. Ebor.*

⁹⁵ There are some other ancient Missals in which may be found interpolated prayers of this kind. The present is cited by Cardinal Bona from “Petrus ab Opmeer in assertione Missæ. p. 362,” but with this addition at

SARUM.

BANGOR.

EBOR.

ter: *corpore inclinato*
donec dixerit. Ac pe-
timus.

the beginning. “Domine Jesu Christe Fili Dei vivi adjuva infirmitatem meam, et conforta me nunc in hac hora: quia imperfectum meum vident oculi tui. Adoramus. &c.” *Micrologus*, cap. xij. attempts to prove that such interpolations are most objectionable (as certainly they are, but not) because such never were allowed to be made without the highest authority, in

HERFORD.

ROM.

per sanctam crucem tuam redemisti mundum. Miserere nobis, qui passus es pro nobis.

the Canon. For certainly the Canon cannot be said to begin until the “Te igitur.” As I mention presently, the Canon was not only to be said *secreto*, but was also called *secrectum*: whereas the Prefaces are said “clara voce;” and there is no special direction to the contrary as regards this prayer, in the Hereford Use.

Canon Missæ.¹

SARUM.

BANGOR.

EBOR.

Junctis manibus² sacerdos inclinet se dicens:³



E igitur, clementissime Pater, per Jesum Christum Filium tuum Dominum nostrum supplices rogamus ac petimus :

(Hic, Sarum et Bangor.) erigens se (sacerdos, Ebor.) osculetur altare a dextris sacrificii dicens :

¹ (*Canon Missæ.*) Oratio quæ incipit, *Te igitur*, quamque sequitur *Pater*, dicitur Canon, quippe quæ tanquam regula in Sacrificio offerendo servanda, nunquam mutanda prescripta fuerit. *Le Brun.* tom. i. p. 197.

The whole Canon of the Mass was sometimes called *Secretum* : as, for example, in the third decree of the Synod of York, 1195, which respects the correctness of the Manuscripts used in the public Services, and begins : “ *Quia secretum missæ frequenter invenitur, aut scriptorum falsitate, aut librorum vetustate corruptum, ita ut legi distinete non possit,* ” &c. *Wilkins.* Conc. i. 501.

The title *Canon*, as applied to this part of the Service, is as old certainly as at least the time of Gregory the Great : who himself speaks of his having directed the Lord’s prayer to be said “ *mox post Canonem.* ” Strictly the Canon ends before the Lord’s prayer : and in many Manuscripts a different style of writing begins again.

But it may not be improper to mention some other titles which have been given to this portion of the Liturgy. “ *Precem* vocat *Iunocentius I.* in *Epist. ad Decentium* : et *Vigilius P. ad Profuturum, canonicae precis textum.* ” *Gerbert.* tom. i. p. 122. Again, the same author, p. 446, quoting *Amalarius*, “ *Ab illo loco, ubi secretam dicit episcopus usque ad AGNUS DEI, totum illud vocat Augustinus Orationes.* ” And *Garantus* has collected several others. *Regula ecclesiastica* : from *S. Ambrose.* *Legitimum.* *Opatus.* *Secrctum.* *S. Basil.* *Ordo precum.* *Isidore.* *Actio*, and, *Regula*, by *Walafrid Strabo.* (*Thesaurus Sacr. Rit.* tom. i. 105.)

To these I must not omit to add Lyndwood’s explanation. “ *Licet quidam simplices sacerdotes intelligent canonem, quidquid est in secreto missæ : et stricte intelligendo Canoneum, puto quod Hostiensis dicit verum.* Est namque Canon idem quod regula. Missa vero proprie dicitur Eucharistiæ consecratio. Alia autem omnia, quæ vel sacerdos dicit, vel chorus canit,

Canon Missæ.

HERFORD.

Hic inclinet se sacerdos ad altare junctis manibus dicendo :



E igitur, clementissime Pater, per Jesum Christum Filium tuum Dominum nostrum supplices rogamus ac petimus :

Hic osculetur alterum Osculatur altare : tare, et erigat se dicendo :

ROM.

Sacerdos extendens et jungens manus, elevans ad cælum oculos, et statim demittens, profunde inclinatus ante altare, manibus super co positis, dicit :

gratiarum actiones sunt, vel certe obsecrations. Unde Canon Missæ vere dicitur regula illa, per quam Eucharistia consecratur: large tamen intelligendo Canonem Missæ juxta communem intellectum simplicium sacerdotum, denotat totum secretum missæ post præfationem.” *Lib. i. tit. 10. Ut Archidiaconi. verb. Canon.*

² (*Junctis manibus.*) In this the English Uses agree, but do not add what has always been the practice of the Roman Church, to repeat the whole Canon, *manibus extensis*, unless otherwise expressly ordered. It would seem however that very anciently such was the custom, in some parts at least of this country also. For of S. Dunstan we read; “ *Eo quippe inter sacro-sanctum Missarum solemnia sacras manus extende*nt, et Deum Patrem omnipotentem, ut ‘ *Ecclesiam suam Catholicam pacificare, custodire &c.*’ interpellante, nivea columba de cœlo descendit.” *Vita S. Dunstani. cap. xxxij.*

Micrologus says: “ *Notandum autem, per totum Canonem Dominicæ Passionis commemorationem potissimum actitari, juxta Domini præceptum in Evangelio: Hæc, quotiescumque feceritis &c.* Unde et ipse Sacerdos per totum Canonem in expansione manum, non tam mentis devotionem, quam Christi extensionem in cruce designat, juxta illud: *Expandi manus meas tota die.*” *Cap. 16.* So also, *Radulph. Tungr. Prop. 23.* But the later Ritualists take a different view.

³ There is no doubt that for some two or three centuries at least before the Reformation, the Church of England, according to her different Uses, yet agreed in all of them with the rest of the Western Church, in this point: that the whole of the Canon, from the *Te Igitur* to the *Per omnia sacerdotalia sacerdorum* was said *secreto*, or *submissa voce*. It is a vulgar but not unfrequent error to suppose, that by *secreto* is meant no utterance at all, or even what is commonly called *mumbling*: for there are many orders of the English Church, which I shall have occasion to cite presently, which prove that a

SARUM.

BANGOR.

EBOR.

UTI accepta habeas, et benedicas hæc **†** dona, hæc **†** munera,⁴ hæc **†** sancta sacrificia illibata :⁵

distinct pronunciation was required of every word, no less than in those parts of the Liturgy which were repeated aloud. The present *Rubricæ generales* prefixed to the Roman Missal, explain well this point. “Quæ vero secrete dicenda sunt, ita pronuntiet, ut et ipsemet se audiat, et a circumstantibus non audiatur.” *Tit. xvi. 2.*

But the subject of chief importance, upon which one or two brief remarks are necessary, is; as to the time when this practice and abuse of repeating the Canon, so that no one but the officiating Priest might hear what was said, begun. There seems to be no question, even among the most strenuous upholders of the new practice as of high antiquity, that in the primitive ages the faithful heard the whole, and answered at the end, *Amen*. Very probably there was a variety of tone: but not to such an extent that the Priest was inaudible. Cardinal Bona is decisive upon this: speaking of the Use of the Greek Church, that its Liturgy is said aloud, he adds: “Eundem morem servabat olim Ecclesia occidentalis, omnes enim audiebant sanctissima et efficacissima verba, quibus Christi corpus conficitur.” And he further gives it as his opinion, that no change took place in this respect, until the tenth Century.

In the xij th Century, the author of the *Gemma Animæ*, not only speaks of secret utterance, as then the usual practice, but gives three reasons for it: “Una est, quia cum Deo loquimur, cui non ore sed corde clamare præcipimur. Secunda est, ne populus tam prolixa declamatione attædiatus abscedat, vel sacerdos tam longo clamore voce deficiat. Tertia est, ne tam sancta verba tanti mysterii vilescant, dum ea vulgus per quotidianum usum in inconvenientibus locis dicat.” Cap. 103. If these were the reasons which led to so great a departure from the long-established and unobjectionable use of the Church from her first beginning until then, they were poor and insignificant indeed. *Amalaricus* offers some of greater weight: “non est necessaria vox reboans,” he says, *de off. Eccles.* lib. 3. cap. 20: and again, “ut impudentis est clamoribus strepere, ita contra congruit verecundo, modestis precibus orare.” Cap. 23. He wrote before the 10th Century, and it is not certain, that he intends more than a proper modulation and lowering of the voice.

Modern writers of the Roman Communion, cannot agree why the Canon should be said *secreto*. Some say, that the mystery should be concealed; some, that greater reverence is to be the effect of it; some, that the Canon, and especially the *verba consecrationis* should not be made common. As to this last, it can have little, if any weight, though most relied on: because, not only are there an infinity of books which the laity may use, and always have been: but parish-priests are strictly enjoined to make known to their people the meaning and complete knowledge of this Service, by Catechisms, and Sermons, &c. This seems to go as far the other way, beyond almost what is needful: for the words of a learned writer on the subject are, “ut perfectam populo christiano tradant hujus mysterii notitiam.” *Romsée.*

HERFORD.

ROM.

UTI accepta habeas et benedicas :

Opera, tom. iv. p. 200. And the *Catechismus ad Parochos* declares that all those points “ a Pastoribus diligentissime exponenda erunt, quæ ejus maiestatem magis illustrare posse videantur.” *Edit. Aldus.* 1566. p. 130. Of which teaching, as there exemplified, the *verba consecrationis* form the chief part. So that either these duties of the Parish-priest ought to be omitted, or the secret saying of the Canon is an unreasonable retention of an abuse which crept in during the middle ages. However, the Council of Trent ends the matter short, in its decree : “ Si quis dixerit, Ecclesiae Romanæ ritum, quo submissa voce pars Canonis, et verba consecrationis proferuntur, damnablem esse ;—anathema sit.” *Sessio. 22. Can. ix.*

Against Bona, and the other great writers who agree with him, *Le Brun* wrote a long Dissertation, in which he collected all the authorities which in any way seem to prove the greater antiquity of saying the Canon in an inaudible voice. It is to be found at the end of the 4th volume of his works.

I shall extract some constitutions of the English Church which are directed to the saying of the Canon : and shall leave to the judgment of the reader whether they decide clearly or not, at least the earlier ones, that the then custom in this country was that the priest should not be heard by the people. In one thing, they are decisive enough : that *secreto* did not exclude, but the contrary, distinct pronunciation.

The first Canon of the Council of London, A. D. 1200, orders : “ Cum in divinis officiis non sine periculo corporum et animarum erretur, salubri provisione concilii prospexit, ut a quolibet sacerdote celebrante, verba canonis rotunde dicantur, nec ex festinatione contracta, nec ex diuturnitate nimis protracta.” *Wilkins. Concilia.* tom. i. p. 505. In the year 1222, a council at Oxford decreed, *Canon VI.* “ Verba vero canonis, præsertim in consecratione Corporis Christi plene et integre proferuntur.” *Wilkins.* p. 586. One of the synodal Constitutions of Gilbert, Bishop of Chichester, A. D. 1289, is of the highest importance, if we can allow that the Canon of the Mass is included among the “ *divina officia* ” there meant. “ Presbyteri sint seduli ad divina officia horis competentibus et statutis in suis ecclesiis celebranda, ne desidia vel negligentia argui sive puniri debeat a pælatiis. Quæ autem legunt vel cantant, distincte proferant et aperte, non transiliendo, neque transcurrente, vel syncopando, sed cum debita reverentia, ut ad devotionem excitent mentes seu animos auditorum.” *Wilkins.* tom. ii. p. 170. Once more, a Provincial Constitution of Walter Raynold, Archbishop of Canterbury, A. D. 1322. “ Item verba canonis, præsertim in his, quæ ad substantialia sacramenti pertinent, plene, integre, et cum summa animi devotione proferantur.” *Wilkins.* tom. ii. p. 513.

This last statute may be seen in the *Provinciale*, and Lyndwood gives the other Constitution of Archbishop Stephen Langton (A. D. 1222) in which is the same injunction. “ Verba Canonis—plene et integre proferantur.” *Lib. iii. tit. 23. Ad excitandos.* His Gloss is not of great importance to the

SARUM.

Factis signaculis super calicem, elevet manus suas ita dicens:

BANGOR.

Finitis his tribus signaculis super calicem, elevet manus suas, dicens:

EBOR.

Hic elevet manus dicens:

IMPRIMIS (In primis, *Bangor et Ebor.*) quæ tibi offerimus pro ecclesia tua sancta catholica: quam pacificare, custodire, adunare, et regere digneris toto orbe terrarum, una cum famulo⁶ tuo papa nostro N. et antistite nostro N. (*id est proprio episcopo tantum: Sarum.*) et rege nostro⁷ N. (*et dicuntur nominatim.*

present point, as he seems to limit the Canon chiefly to the Words of Consecration: which is an improper interpretation of it. *Plene*, he says means, *absque omissione*. And in the Constitution of Archbishop Raynold he refers “cum summa animi devotione,” to the intention: “ut sc. mentis intentio firmiter applicetur ad Deum, et ad pronunciationem verborum. Intentio namque semper est necessaria, vel specialis, vel generalis.”

I do not think it necessary to enter here upon the subject of *Intention*; by it, I would remind the reader, is meant the deliberate purpose or will to do or perform something, say, a Sacrament; and it is commonly defined to be, “volitio efficax finis, unde differt intentio a simplici volitione, seu complacentia finis, sive boni alieujus, quia simplex voluntas, seu complacentia respicit finem sine habitudine ad consecrationem. Intentio autem est volitio efficax tendens in finis consecrationem.” *Garanti Thesaurus.* tom. i. p. 337. Upon the doctrine of the Church of Rome in this matter; how intention may be either actual, or virtual, or habitual, or interpretative; how these differ from each other, and affect, as it is pretended, the validity of a Sacrament, the student will do well to consult *Garantus* cited above: *Quarti in Rubr. Miss. Part. 3. tit. viij. and Benedict XIV. Opera. tom. ix. lib. iii. cap. 10.*

Returning to the order of *secreta* recitation, it may be well to remark, that the only exception at present to the general rule is at Ordinations of Priests, in the Church of Rome: when, as Benedict XIV. says, “Ordinandi circa Altare in genua provoluti disponuntur, et Episcopus, quasi eos doceat Missam celebrare, lente ac paullulum elata voce Secretas profert, non eas ut Populus audiat, sed ut Sacerdotes novissime initiati cum eo possint eas recitare, et verba Consecrationis uno eodemque tempore cum Episcopo pronunciare; ad exemplum Christi, qui voce, quæ ab Apostolis audiri potuit, in ultima cæna panem et vinum consecravit, ut eos, quos tunc Sacerdotio initiat, doceret consecrandi modum, legitimumque Ritum ad consummationem usque sæculi duraturum.” *Opera. tom. ix. p. 248.*

⁴ (*Hæc dona, hæc munera.*) “Hæc dona hæc munera. Quod Superior inferioribus, Creator creaturis, Rex subditis donant, id *donum* dicitur; quod autem subditi Principi, inferiores Superioribus, iisque exhibent, quibus debent, *munus* appellatur. Panis et vinum quæ super Altari sunt, di-

HERFORD.

Signet calicem ter:

hæc \ddagger dona, hæc \ddagger munera, hæc \ddagger sancta sacrificia illibata :
Tunc erigat sursum brachia et Extensis manibus prosequitur :
dicat :

IN primis quæ tibi offerimus pro Ecclesia tua sancta catholica :
 quam pacificare, custodire, adunare, et regere digneris toto
 orbe terrarum : una cum famulo tuo papa nostro N. et antistite
 nostro N. (et rege nostro N. *Herf.*) et omnibus orthodoxis, atque
 catholicæ et apostolicæ fidei cultoribus.

ROM.

Jungit manus deinde signat ter
super oblata :

cuntur *dona* quoad Deum, a quo omne bonum in nos derivatur, sunt autem
 munera quoad homines, qui Deo eadem exhibent. *Le Brun.* tom. i. p. 200.

See also some verses by Hildebert, quoted, *Durant.* ii. 33.

⁵ (*Illibata.*) This is to be referred, not to the sacred elements, but rather
 to the purity both of soul and body which is fitting to the Priest. By the
 use of this term he commends (according to the best ritualists) his own sin-
 gleness of heart, and sincerity, to God.

Upon the variety in using the sign of the Cross here, vide *S. Anselm.*
Opera. p. 139. *Ad Valeranni querelas, Resp.* Cap. 2.

⁶ “ *una cum beatissimo famulo tuo.* ” *Missal. Leofr.* Probably the first
 Canon of any Council on this point is, the 4th of the Council of Vaison,
 A.D. 529 ; “ *Nobis justum visum est, ut nomen Domini Papæ, quicunque*
Apostolicae sedi prefuerit, in nostris Ecclesiis recitetur. ”

⁷ (*Et rege nostro.*) *Sacrificamus pro salute Imperatoris*, says Tertullian
 (ad Scapulam, c. 2.) quoted by Cardinal Bona ; and we know from Euse-
 bius, how strictly this duty was fulfilled, even in the case of the Emperors
 Gallus, Valerian, and Gallienus. *Hist. Ecc.* lib. vii. c. 1.

S. Paul, in the 2nd chapter of the Epistle to S. Timothy, must have
 alluded to the Eucharist, and the prayers then to be offered up in behalf of
 Kings. There can be no *giving of thanks* in its usual sense to God, for His
 permitting of a persecuting King. But, as Theophylact says, “ *their safety*
is our peace. ”

In the ecclesiastical laws of K. Athelred, A.D. 1012, the 3rd Chapter con-
 tains express directions that a certain prayer should be said daily for the
 King and his people. “ *Et præcipimus, ut in omni congregazione cantetur*
quotidie communiter pro rege et omni populo suo una missa ad matutinalem
missam, quæ inscripta est, contra paganos, &c. ” *Wilkins. Concilia.* tom. i.
 295. Here the word *Missa* is used in a rather unusual sense, to signify a
 collect : but of which some examples may be found : especially the passage in
 the second Council of Milevia, cap. xij. “ *Placuit ut preces, vel orationes,*
seu Missæ, quæ probatae fuerint in concilio, ab omnibus celebrentur. ” The
 words “ *et fiant Missæ,* ” in the rule of S. Benedict, must be taken to mean
 the same. Other significations of *Missa*, such as for any Ecclesiastical

SARUM.

BANGOR.

EBOR

Sarum.) et omnibus orthodoxis, atque catholice et apostolice fidei cultoribus.

Hic oret pro vivis:

*Hic oret cogi-
tando pro vi-
vis:*

Hic oret pro vivis:

MEMENTO,⁸ Domine, famulorum famularumque tuarum⁹ N. (et N. *Sarum.*) et omnium circumstantium (atque omnium fidelium Christianorum,¹⁰ *Bangor et Ebior.*) quorum tibi fides cognita est et nota devotio: pro quibus tibi offerimus, vel qui tibi offerunt hoc sacrificium laudis pro se, suisque omnibus,¹¹ pro redemptione animarum suarum: pro spe salutis et incolumentatis suæ: tibique reddunt vota sua æterno Deo, vivo et vero.

Office, for lections, &c. before the term became limited to its more proper sense, may be seen in *Du Cange*. And the same laws of K. Athelred afford another example of its use to signify “Collects.” Cap. ij. “Et super hoc cantet omnis presbyter xxx. missas, et omnis diaconus et clericus. xxx. psalmos. &c.”

In the printed Missals is frequently inserted, sometimes before the Canon, sometimes at the end of the volume, a Mass, or prayers to be said for the King. The reader will find an example of these, among the *Additional Notes*, taken from an edition of the *Salisbury Missal*, in 1516.

⁸ At this period of the Service, the *Diptychs* were recited, that is, the names contained in them: hence, in many ancient Liturgies, this prayer is entitled *Oratio super Diptycha*. These *Diptychs* were plates of wood or ivory, folded often latterly into three parts: upon the first of which were inscribed the names of great Saints, Apostles, and Martyrs: upon the second, of those among the living, who were illustrious for rank and station, or had deserved well of the Church: and in the third were the names of those who had died in her communion. There was in some Churches a custom of reciting here also the names of those who had offered any oblation previously: but this could only have been some selected from the many, and, I presume, not the same names always, or the first and chief; but taken promiscuously from the whole number. When the objectionable practice was introduced of saying the Canon in an inaudible voice, of course the recital of the *Diptychs*, or of any names, dwindled into scarcely even a shadow of the old observance, and a mere trifling with it. For much information upon the *Diptychs*, see *Du Cange*, verb. “*Diptycha.*” *Mabillon*, de Lit. Gall. lib. iii. 11. *Bingham*, Orig. Eccles. vol. 5. and a very learned treatise, by *Salig. de Diptychis Veterum*. 4to. 1731.

⁹ The *Leofrie Missal* adds, “*illorum et illarum, et omnium &c.*”

¹⁰ This addition in the *Bangor* and *York Missals*, is exclaimed against by *Bona*. “*Post illa verba, et omnium circumstantium addunt quidam libri omniumque fidelium: sed omnino rejicienda haec additio tanquam superflua: nam in fine praecedentis orationis premissa est pro omnibus fidelibus depre-*

HERFORD.

ROM.

Commemoratio pro vivis.

MEMENTO, Domine, famulorum famularumque tuarum,
(N. et. N. Rom.)

Hic oret pro vivis in corde suo et postea dicat : *Jungit manus, orat aliquantulum pro quibus orare intendit : deinde manibus extensis prosequitur :*

catio illis verbis, *et omnibus orthodoxis.*" Tom. iii. p. 256. The reason for this addition seems originally to have been, that the clause, " *et omnibus orthodoxis*," was not invariably inserted ; and then this latter one was necessary : which was not removed from the York and Bangor Uses when they adopted the *et omnibus &c.* See *Micrologus*. cap. xij, who on the other hand says that the *first* clause is the superfluous one. There can be no doubt that both are not required. The last is omitted in *Missal. Leofr.*

" In this sentence the word *vel* must be taken not in a disjunctive but a conjunctive sense : as *Menard* shews in his Notes to the Sacramentary of S. Gregory. With it compare the prayer above : " *Orate, fratres, ut meum pariterque vestrum sacrificium, &c.*" There is a very famous place in Tertullian, which bears upon the question involved in this passage : he is answering an objection, and whatever else his words may mean, they must be interpreted primarily with reference to that, and that the writer probably was not strict in weighing every word. " *Vani erimus, si putaverimus quod sacerdotibus non licet, laicis licere. Nonne et laici sacerdotes sumus ? Scriptum est, Regnum quoque nos et sacerdotes Deo et Patri suo fecit. Differentiam inter Ordinem et Plebem constituit Ecclesiae auctoritas, et honor per Ordinis confessum sanctificatus adeo ubi Ecclesiastici ordinis non est consessus, et offers et tinguis et sacerdos es tibi solus.* — *Igitur si habes jus sacerdotis in temetipso ubi necesse est, habeas oportet etiam disciplinam sacerdotis, ubi necesse sit habere jus sacerdotis.*" *De Exhort. Cast. Opera.* p. 522. Now, it might be sufficient to remember in reply to the argument which some would be inclined to draw from this, what the fate of Tertullian was, and how unsound many of his peculiar opinions were. But as *Rigalt* observes in his Note, much more blame than is justly due has been thrown upon Tertullian in regard of this passage, from not properly considering in what sense that ancient author uses the terms, *Oratio*, *Sacrificium*, *Oblatio*, and *Sacramentum* : which, he says, may be collected from the Index to his works. Not only again, does Tertullian use the word *offerre* and not *consecrare*, but he could not have been ignorant of the universal practice of his day, to send portions of the Blessed Eucharist to the sick and to those in

*Sequitur infra
canonem.¹²*

COMMUNICANTES, et memoriam venerantes: In primis (Imprimis, *Sar.*) gloriosæ semper virginis Mariæ, genitricis Dei et Domini nostri Jesu Christi: Sed et beatorum Apostolorum ac Martyrum tuorum,¹³ Petri, (et, *Sar.*) Pauli, Andreæ,

prison, of which there would have been no need, if every layman was a Priest in the more strict and true sense of the word.

The Church has always held that those who are present at the Holy Communion offer with the Priest: and this, either because they do so by his ministry, or because they unite with him in the prayers which he puts up to the Throne of Grace, or because they actually do make offerings either necessary (as of old) to the due performance of the Service itself, or as alms to be used for the benefit of the Church in any way. But never has she allowed, that a lay-person can, in its proper sense, consecrate the elements, even in cases of necessity. The conduct of Frumentius, a layman, who, as *Theodoret* relates, *Hist.* lib. i. cap. 23, went from Alexandria to Ethiopia, and there having converted many, proceeded to collect them into congregations, and desired them to perform the Divine Offices, proves nothing, although not unfrequently appealed to: for he went with others amongst whom probably were priests, and he was chiefly named, as the promoter of the mission; and, as we learn from *Socrates*, *Hist.* lib. i. cap. 49, he came back himself to Alexandria, and was consecrated the first Bishop of the Church which he had planted. See *Moshim*. Book. ii. Part. i. chap. i. § 20.

I shall have occasion presently to refer to the address of S. Lawrence to Pope Sixtus, and shall here also speak of it, because from the received text in that place of the Benedictine Edition of S. Ambrose, it may be argued that Deacons might *consecrete* the Cup. But as the very learned Editors say in their Note, tom. ii. p. 55, the term *consecration* is sometimes to be taken, “*pro ejusdem effectu, i.e. jam peracta consecratione.*” And in this sense, a Sermon of *Guerricus*, an abbot, speaks of the *people* consecrating. And, if so: “*Sane Diacono competit non tanquam uni e fidelium convenitu, sed tanquam primario consecrantis sacerdotis ministro illius actioni cooperari per modum ejusdam, ut sic loquamur, concelebrationis:*” and some authorities are cited in support of this interpretation. Again: “*Secunda consecrationis acceptio, nimirum pro rei consecratae distributione, omni prorsus caret offendiculo, maximeque nobis arridet: quia vox commisisti aliquid jam perfectum signat. &c.*” We must after all remember, that *dispensationem* is the common reading.

HERFORD.

ROM.

ET omnium circumstantium, quorum tibi fides cognita est, et nota devotio: pro quibus tibi offerimus, vel qui tibi offerunt hoc saerificium laudis, pro se, suisque omnibus, pro redemptione animarum suarum, pro spe salutis et incolumentis suæ: tibique reddunt vota sua æterno Deo, vivo et vero.

Infra actionem.

COMMUNICANTES, et memoriam venerantes: In primis gloriosæ semper virginis Mariæ, genetricis Dei et Domini nostri Jesu Christi: Sed et beatorum Apostolorum ac Martyrum tuorum, Petri, (et, *Rom.*) Pauli, Andreæ, Jacobi, Joannis,

I shall add from an old writer: “*Qui tibi offerunt &c.* In quibus verbis patenter ostenditur, quod a cunctis fidelibus, non solum viris, sed et mulieribus sacrificium illud laudis offertur, licet ab uno specialiter offerri sacerdote videatur. Quia quæ ille Deo offerendo manibus tractat, hæc multitudine fidelium intenta mentium devotione commendat. Quod illic quoque declaratur ubi dicitur, ‘Hanc igitur oblationem servitutis nostræ, sed ut cunctæ familiae tuæ, ut placatus accipias.’ Quibus verbis luce clarius constat, quia sacrificium, quod a sacerdote sacris altaribus superponitur, a cuncta Dei familia generaliter offeratur. Hanc autem Ecclesiæ unitatem Apostolus manifeste declarat, cum dicit, ‘Unum corpus, unus panis, multis sumus.’” *Petrus Damian.* cap. viij.

¹² (*Sequitur infra Canonem.* Bangor.) This rubric was inserted to remind the officiating Priest, that on certain days another form was to be used instead of the usual one here given.

In the Roman Use, the “*infra actionem*” means the same thing: and in the most ancient MSS. the terms are used indiscriminately, “propterea quod (says *Le Brun*) in hac Missæ parte fit consecratio Corporis Christi, actio scilicet omnium maxima.” *Infra*, he continues, is but another word for *intra*; and many examples of its use are to be found in Councils, Liturgies and Rituals. *Infra octavam*, is commonly found, for *intra octavam*.

But, on the other hand, the *Gemma Animæ* tells us: “*Hic*, (i. e. Canon) etiam *actio* dicitur, quia causa populi in eo cum Deo agitur.” *Lib. i. cap. 103.* And compare *Radulph. Tungrensis. De Canon. observant.* Prop. xxij. *Bibl. Patr. Auct. tom. i. p. 1160.*

¹³ (*ac Martyrum tuorum.*) None are here commemorated by name, who are placed in the Church lower in rank than the Martyrs. The Blessed Virgin, although she departed at last in peace, is entitled, as S. Jerom has said, to that rank also, having indeed suffered all the pains of it, according to Simeon’s prophecy.

Upon this point I would also quote the fourth stanza of a very ancient English hymn to the Blessed Virgin.

“ Heyl mayden, heyl modur, *hey! martir trowe,*
Heyl kyndly i knowe confessour,

SARUM.

BANGOR.

EBOR.

Jacobi, Joannis, Thomæ, Jacobi, Philippi, Bartholomæi, Matthæi, Simonis et Thaddæi: Lini, Cleti, Clementis, Sixti, Cornelii, Cypriani, Laurentii, Grisogoni,¹⁴ Joannis et Pauli,¹⁵ Cosmæ et Damiani:¹⁶ Et omnium Sanctorum tuorum: quorum meritis precibusque concedas, ut in omnibus protectionis tuæ muniamur auxilio. Per eundem Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.¹⁷

Hic respiciat sacerdos *Hic respiciat hostiam cum veneracione*
hostiam cum magna dicens:

veneracione dicens:

HANC igitur oblationem servitutis nostræ, sed et cunctæ familiæ tuæ, quæsumus Domine, ut placatus accipias: diesque nostros in tua pace disponas, atque ab æterna damnatione nos eripi, et in electorum tuorum jubeas grege numerari.¹⁹ Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

Heyl evenere of old lawe and newe,
 Heyl buildor bold of cristes bour,
 Heyl rose bigest of hyde and hewe,
 Of all ffruytes feirest flour,
 Heyl turtell trustiest and trewe,
 Of all trouthe thou art tresour,
 Heyl puyred princesse of paramour,
 Heyl blosme of brere brikest of ble,
 Heyl owner of eorthly honour,
 Yowe preye for us thi sone so fre. AVE, etc.

Vide, *Warton's Hist. of English Poetry*, vol. ii. p. 152.

The reason why Confessors are not added, is either because the recital of the names was always in this Great Service strictly limited to those whose blood was poured out even unto death, after the pattern of our Blessed Lord Himself: or, because the Canon, as it undoubtedly is, is older than the third century, at which time began the practice of honouring the memory also of Confessors. In the ixth Century it is said, that for a short time in some of the Gallic Churches, the names of a few Confessors, "erga quos major erat Fidelium pietas," were introduced, but it was only for a short time. *Le Brun*. tom. i. 259. It is said, that all those who are here commemorated suffered either in, or near Rome. But there is some difficulty about "Cosmæ et Damiani," which is met by the assertion that there were no less than three pairs so named: two, in Asia; and the third in Rome. It will be seen below that the "Golden Legend" says that they were Arabian Martyrs.

¹⁴ (*Grisogonus*.) A noble Roman citizen, who, according to the Golden Legend suffered martyrdom near Aquileia, in the persecution under Diocletian. His day in the Calendar is Nov. 24th. *Golden Legend*. Edit. Wynkyn de Worde, 1527.

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ROM.

Thomæ, Jacobi, Philippi, Bartholomæi, Matthæi, Simonis et Thaddæi: Lini, Cleti, Clementis, Xysti, (Sixti, *Herf.*) Cornelii, Cypriani, Laurentii, Chrysogoni, (Grisogoni, *Herf.*) Joannis et Pauli, Cosmæ et Damiani: Et omnium Sanctorum tuorum: quorum meritis precibusque concedas, ut in omnibus protectionis tuæ muniamur auxilio. (*Jungit manus. Rom.*) Per eundem Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

Hic inclinet se¹⁸ parum versus Tenens manus expansas super hostiam dicens: *oblata, dicit:*

HANC igitur oblationem servitutis nostræ, sed et cunctæ familie tuæ, quæsumus Domine, ut placatus accipias: diesque nostros in tua pace disponas, atque ab æterna damnatione nos eripi, et in electorum tuorum jubeas grege numerari. (*Jungit manus. Rom.*) Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

¹⁵ (*Joannis et Pauli.*) Brothers, who were beheaded by order of Julian the Apostate. The history of these Saints is given in the Golden Legend. Their day is June 26th.

¹⁶ (*Cosmæ et Damiani.*) These two, says the Golden Legend, were “of Arabye,” also brothers, “lerned in the arte of medycyne and of leche eraffe: and heled all maladyes and languours for y^e loue of God, without takynge of ony rewarde.” They were put to death about A.D. 284. Their day is September 27th.

¹⁷ *Amen* is omitted in the *Leofric* copy. This is an addition to the *Communicantes* which does not appear before the xith century: *Hugo* speaks of it as in use in some places in his time, about 1250; in his work called *Speculum Sacerdotum*: and *Durand* also, lib. iv. cap. 38. It was an unauthorized interpolation, and gradually crept in until, though we can scarcely explain how, it was universally adopted: none of the antient Missals admit it, nor indeed the word *Amen* in any part of the Canon until its termination.

¹⁸ This practice again the English Uses continued to follow, long after another (*the hands expanded*) had been adopted in the Church of Rome. Both *Amalarius*, cap. xxx. and the old *Ordo Romanus*, (edited by *Hittorpius*) prescribe that the Priest should incline “usque Iubcas numerari:” *Micrologus* also; “Cum dicimus, *Hanc igitur oblationem*, usque ad altare inclinamur, ad exemplar Christi, qui se humiliavit pro nobis usque ad mortem crucis.” Cap. xiv. Once more, the *Gemma Animæ*: “Cum Sacerdos, *Hanc igitur oblationem* dicit, se usque ad altare inclinat: quia ibi passio Christi inchoatur, qui se usque ad aram crucis obediens Patri pro nobis inclinaverat.” *Lib. i. cap. 46.*

Upon the modern practice of the Roman Church, see *Gavautus. tom. i.* p. 246.

¹⁹ The reader will observe, how strong an argument against the wild and

SARUM.

BANGOR

EBOR.

*Hic iterum respiciat hostiam dicens: Supra calicem:***Q**UAM oblationem tu Deus omnipotens in omnibus, quæsumus,bene **+** dictam, adscrip **+** tam, ra **+** tam, rationabilem, acceptabilemque facere digneris, ut nobisCor **+** pus et San **+** guis fiat dilectissimi Filii tui Domini nostri Jesu Christi.*Hic erigat sacerdos manus et conjungat: (et, Sar.) postea tergit digitos, et elevet hostiam, dicens:***Q**UI pridie quam pateretur, accepit panem in sanctas ac venerabiles manus suas: et elevatis oculis in cœlum,²⁰*Hic elevet oculos suos*

ad te Deum Patrem suum omnipotentem,

*Hic inclinet se et postea elevet (hostiam,**Bangor.) paululum, dicens:*tibi gratias agens, bene **+** dixit, (ac, *Ebor.*) fregit:²¹*Hic tangat hostiam dicens:*deditque discipulis suis dicens:²² Accipite et manducate ex hoc omnes.*Hæc sunt ver-
ba consecra-
tionis:***H**OC est enim Cor-
pus meum.**H**OC est enim Cor-
pus meum.
Corpus meum.**H**OC est enim Cor-
pus meum.blasphemous heresy of Calvin and his followers of the xvith Century, this very ancient prayer furnishes. The Church knows nothing of a Predestination such as he feared not to invent: but has followed the teaching of S. Augustine, of the Fathers before him, and of S. Peter that we should "give diligence to make our calling and election sure." Epist. 2. cap. i. 10.²⁰ (*In sanctas—et elevatis oculis.*) These particulars and some following, are not expressly stated in the Gospels, but are to be found in the Liturgies of S. Clement, S. James, S. Basil, and S. Chrysostom.²¹ (*Fregit.*) Nothing can be more objectionable, than the careless practice which in too many of our Parishes is unhappily allowed, of some time

HERFORD.

ROM.

QUAM oblationem tu Deus in omnibus, quæsumus,

Hic faciat tres cruces supra calicem dicendo :

bene **+** dictam, adscrip**+** tam, ra**+** tam, rationabilem, acceptabilemque facere digneris : ut nobis

Hic faciat crucem super hostiam Signat semel super Hostiam, et dicens, semel super Calicem,

Cor **+** pus (*Hic faciat crucem super calicem, Herf.*) et San**+** guis fiat dilectissimi Filii tui Domini nostri Jesu Christi.

Hic sumat sursum hostiam, et dicat :

QUI pridie quam pateretur, (*accipit Hostiam. Rom.*) accepit panem in sanctas ac venerabiles manus suas :

Erigat oculos sursum : Elevat oculos ad cœlum :

et elevatis oculis in cœlum, ad te Deum Patrem suum omnipotentem, tibi gratias agens,

signet hostiam : signat super Hostiam :

bene **+** dixit, (ac, *Herf.*) fregit, deditque discipulis suis, dicens, Accipite et manducate ex hoc omnes.

Inclinet se ad hostiam, et distincte dicat :

Tenens ambabus manibus Hostiam inter indices et pollices, profert verba Consecrationis secrete, distincte, et attente :

HOC est enim Corpus meum.

HOC est enim Corpus meum.

previously, *cutting up* the Bread which is to be consecrated, *into small pieces*. This is commonly done moreover by some sexton or servant of the Church, without any reverence, or care; probably with a dirty knife and unwashed hands. Surely, those Priests who suffer such a custom, cannot but do so unthinkingly. Not that any one, who has ventured to take upon himself so high an office, as that is of the priesthood; who has not feared to ask that authority should be given to him to minister the Sacraments of Christ;—not that any such, so far as I can see, can justly rely upon this excuse, the want of due consideration.

²² “ *Dedit discipulis suis.*” *Miss. Leofr.*

SARUM.

BANGOR.

EBOR.

*Et debent ista verba proferri cum uno
spiritu et sub una prolatione, nulla pau-
satione interposita.²³ Post hæc verba
(inclinet se sacerdos ad hostiam et, Ban-
gor.) elevet²⁴ eam supra frontem, ut*

²³ There is no doubt that very anciently, both in the Eastern and the Western Churches, these words were pronounced so that the people, at least those who were near, might hear and answer, *Amen*. This is according to the doctrine of the Apostle, 1 Cor. xiv. 16. and is acknowledged by all the Ritualists, of any authority whatever. *S. Ambrose* says, “*Ante consecrationem aliud dicitur, post consecrationem Sanguis nuncupatur. Et tu dicens Amen, hoc est, verum est.*” *Libcr de Mysteriis*. cap. ix. 54. *Opera*. tom. ii. p. 340. *Cardinal Bona* cites this, and another place from *Florus*, (*Expositio Missæ*) a writer of the ninth century: after which time he supposes the practice fell into disuse, “*quia post Florm, ejus mentionem non reperi apud avi posterioris scriptores.*” Tom. iii. p. 276. *Georgius de Liturg.* Pontif. tom. iii. p. 68, adds some further authorities upon the point, *Tertullian*, *S. Augustin*, and *Paschasius Radbert*: which he allows are clear for the custom in those ages of the *Milan*, *African*, and *Gallican* Churches; but does not admit that according to the *Roman Use*, the words were said otherwise than secretly, or that “*Amen*” was answered (as I have remarked above) until the end of the *Canon*.

²⁴ (*Elevet.*) No mention of the elevation is made by the early ritualists, *Aleuin*, or *Amalarius*, or *Walafrid Strabo*, or *Mierologus*; nor is there any allusion to it in the old *Ordines Romani*, or the *Sacramentaries* of *Gelasius*, or *Gregory*. It is commonly said that the first order upon the matter, and introduction of its observance, was based upon the famous decree of the Council of Lateran, (about Transubstantiation) under *Innocent III*. But there is no doubt, that in some Churches, it was already the practice. It is not proved by the passage from *Ivo Carnotensis* which *Cardinal Bona* cites, *lib. 2. xij. 2*, because he does not even speak of it: but the following Canon seems clear, which *Georgius, De Liturg. Pont.* tom. iii. 72, has brought forward. A Council at Paris, A.D. 1188, ordered: “*Præcipit Presbyteris, ut cum in Canone Missæ incooperint, qui pridie quam pateretur, tenentes hostiam, ne elevent eam statim nimis alte, ita quod possit ab omnibus videri a populo, sed quasi ante pectus detineant, donec dixerint, Hoc est corpus meum; et tunc elevent eam, ut possit ab omnibus videri.*” The same author cites one or two others, of about the same date: but as a matter of fact, the date of the Lateran Council is not an improper one to give, because then this rite of the elevating, so objectionable on account of the erroneous doctrine which it was intended to serve, began to be obligatory throughout the Western Church. See also *Durant. de Ritibus*. lib. ii. cap. 40, and *Durand. lib. iv. cap. 41*, and *Sala's notes to Bona. tom. iii. p. 283*.

The *Canon* of the Council of Paris, above, has reference to a practice which about the 13th Century was common in some places, for the Priest to

HERFORD.

Et debent ista verba proferri tam sub uno spiritu quam sub una prolatione, nulla pausatione interposita. Tunc elevet corpus Christi in altum ut vide-

ROM.

Prolatis verbis Consecrationis, statim Hostiam consecratam genuflexus adorat: surgit, ostendit populo, reponit super Corporale, iterum adorat:²⁵ et

elevate before he had finished the words of Consecration. The Synod of Exeter, A.D. 1287, has a Canon upon this point: “ *Quia vero per haec verba, Hoc est enim corpus meum, et non per alia, panis transubstantiatur in corpus Christi, prius hostiam non levet sacerdos, donec ista plene protulerit verba, ne pro creatore creatura a populo veneretur.* ” *Wilkins. Concilia. tom. ii. p. 132.*

At this time was rung the *Suering Bell*: how much oftener during the Service, it is not possible now to decide. See Note 29. The modern practice of the Church of Rome is to ring this bell, “ thrice at the *Sanctus*, once immediately before the Elevation, three times at the Elevation of the Host, three times at the Elevation of the Chalice, once at the antient Elevation before the *Pater*, and three times at the *Domine non sum dignus.* ” *Pugin. Glossary of Ornament, &c. p. 184.*

In the British Museum, among the Harleian MSS. (No. 955) is a volume of occasional prayers, Collects, Antiphons, &c. There are in it many Indulgencies, granted to the Monastery of Sion, to which the book formerly belonged: and one of them is this. “ *Also he that saith at sakering time this prayer: Ave verum corpus natum ex Maria virgine: vere passum, immolatum in cruce pro homine: cuius latus perforatum vero fluxit sanguine: esto nobis prægustatum, mortis in examine. O Clemens: O pie: O dulcis Iesu fili Mariæ, nobis peccatoribus quæsumus miserere. Amen. he schall hane. CCC. daies of pardon.* ” fo. 76.

The reader cannot but observe that the above is in a rhyming metre: but I have not altered the arrangement of the MS. It is a famous Antiphon: and sometimes is found with variations, especially,

“ *Cujus latus perforatum,
Unda fluxit et sanguine.* ”

²⁵ (*Adorat.*) It has been a question, not only among the Roman doctors, but among members of other branches of the Church, whether the bread is consecrated and becomes the Body of Christ, without any consecration of the Cup. I shall give the judgment of the Church of Rome, merely observing that it entirely appears to depend upon the efficacy which she attributes, I think in excess, and erroneously, to the repetition of the Words of Consecration. It has been decided then by her greatest authorities, that the Bread is validly consecrated, “ *forma enim Consecrationis panis neque quoad significatum, neque quoad efficaciam pendet a forma Consecrationis vini.* ” But here a distinction must be observed, (which some among ourselves allow in the case of Lay-Baptism, in our own days) that such a consecration though valid, is not lawful: and that a priest who so consecrates, “ *magno se peccato astringeret.* ” *Benedict. XIV. Opera. tom. ix. p. 318. who cites Andreas*

SARUM.

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EBOR.

possit a populo videri: ²⁶ et reverenter ²⁷ illud, (eam, Bangor.) reponat ante calicem in modum crucis per eandem factæ. Et tunc discooperiat calicem et teneat inter manus suas non disjungendo pollicem ab indice: nisi dum facit benedictiones tantum, ita dicens:

Hic discooperiat calicem, et teneat inter manus suas non disjungendo pollicem ab indice:

SIMILI modo posteaquam cœnatum est,

accipiens et hunc ²⁸ præclarum calicem in sanctas ac venerabiles manus suas: item tibi, *Hic inclinet se dicens*, gratias agens,

Zuccherius, Suarez, Aquinas, and Sylvius. He quotes also with high approbation the following from *S. Bernard*, Ep. 69: whose argument does not appear however to be in any way convincing, because our Blessed Lord did not consecrate Bread only, and we can have no right to theorize upon the supposition that He did. His words are: “Puto enim, quod si Dominus post factum de pane suum Corpus, vini Consecrationem placuisset aliquandiu intermittere, aut certe penitus omittere: nihilominus Corpus mansisset quod fecerat, nec factis facienda praescriberent. Nec nego panem et vinum aqua quidem mixtum simul debere apponi: quin potius assero, haud aliter debere fieri. Sed aliud est culpare negligentiam, aliud negare efficaciam. Aliud, inquam, est quod causam non bene quidpiam fieri, et aliud quod mentimur nec fieri.” This Epistle was written upon an occasion of the Chalice not being consecrated through negligence.

²⁶ “Moneantur laici, quod reverenter se habeant in consecratione eucharistiæ, et flectant genua; maxime in tempore illo, quando, post elevationem eucharistiæ, hostia sacra dimittitur.” *Concilium Duvelmense*. A.D. 1220. “Cum autem in celebratione missæ corpus Domini per manus sacerdotum in altum erigitur, campanella pulsetur, ut per hoc devotio torpantium excitetur, ac aliorum charitas fortius inflammetur.” *Constit. W. de Cantilup.*

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atur ab omnibus. Nec nimis diu teneat elevatum : sed statim reponat illud in locum suum. Nec aliquo modo corpus Christi osculetur : nec ab aliqua parte corpus Christi tangi debet : nisi tantum digitis ad hoc speciuliter consecratis. Et ex tunc illos digitos cum quibus levavit corpus Christi teneat junctos usque ad ablutionem, nisi cum necesse fuerit. Post hæc cum aliis digitis discooperiat calicem, et teneat eum per medium et dicat :

SIMILI modo posteaquam cœnatum est,

accipiens et hunc præclarum calicem in sanctas ac venerabiles manus suas : (*erigat sursum oculos dicens, Herf.*) item tibi gratias agens,

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non disjungit pollices et indices, nisi quando *Hostia tractanda est, usque ad ablutionem digitorum.* Tunc detecto Calice, dicit :

SIMILI modo postquam cœnatum est, *Ambabus manibus accipit Calicem,*

Wigorn. Episc. A.D. 1240. “Sacerdos vero quilibet frequenter doceat plebem suam, nt cum in celebratione missarum elevatur hostia salutaris, se reverenter inclinet.” *Stat. synod. Norvic. Episc. A.D. 1257.* “In elevatione vero ipsius corporis Domini pulsetur campana in uno latere, nt populares, quibus celebrationi missarum non vacat quotidie interesse, ubicunque fuerint, seu in agris, seu in domibus, flectant genua.” *Constit. Joh. Peckham. A.D. 1281.* “Hostia autem ita levetur in altum, ut a fidelibus circumstantibus valeat intueri.” *Synodus Exon. A.D. 1287.* These are but a few out of many orders to the like effect, which might be collected from *Wilkins. Concilia.* See also *Lyndwood. Provinceiale.* lib. iii. tit. 23. *Altissimus.*

²⁷ Vide *Hierurgia Anglicana.* p. 51.

²⁸ “Adde etiam, quod unus idemque Calix est, quem Christus post Cœnam consecravit, et quem nunc Ecclesia consecrat : nisi enim unus, idemque foret, in Canone (ait Odo Cameracensis) non diceretur, *Similo modo—et hunc præclarum Calicem &c.*” *Angelo Rocca. Opera. tom. i. p. 16.* Compare also the *Gemma Animæ.* “Idem calix est in mysterio, quem Christus in manibus tenuit, quamvis in materia metalli alias sit.” *Cap. 106.*

bene **+** dixit,²⁹ deditque discipulis suis,³⁰ dicens : Accipite et bibite ex eo omnes.

Hic elevet sacerdos parumper calicem, ita dicens :

HIC est enim calix Sanguinis mei, novi et aeterni testamenti : mysterium fidei : qui pro vobis et pro multis effundetur in remissionem peccatorum.

Hic elevet calicem dicens : Hic elevet calicem usque ad pectus zel ultra caput dicens :

HEC quotiescumque feceritis, in mei memoriam facietis.

Hic reponat calicem (super altare in locum suum, et cooperiat, Bangor.) et elevet brachia (sua extendendo, Bangor.) in modum crucis, junctis digitis usque ad haec verba de tuis donis :

dicens hoc modo :

UNDE et memores, Domine, nos servi tui, (tui servi,³¹ Bangor. et Ebor.) sed et plebs tua sancta, ejusdem³² Christi

²⁹ “ Loke pater noster thou be sayande,
To tho chalyce he be saynande :
Then tyme is nere of sakring,
A litel belle men oyse to ryng :
Then shal thou do reuerence,
To Ihū crist awen presence.” *Museum MS.*

³⁰ “ dedit discipulis suis.” *Miss. Leofr.*

³¹ “ tui servi.” *Miss. Leofr.*

³² *Ejusdem* : omitted in *Miss. Leofr.*

³³ (*et cooperiendo. Herf.*) There was a variety of practice as to elevating the Cup, covered or uncovered. It would seem that the Use of the English Church was to elevate uncovered. *Durand* says : “ Et est notandum, quod quædam ecclesiæ duas habent pallas corporales, et ibi elevatur calix copertus cum altera earum. — Aliae vero ecclesiæ unam tantum habent

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signet calicem dicens :

bene **+** dixit, deditque (dedit, *Herf.*) discipulis suis, dicens, Accipite et bibite ex eo omnes.

Elevet aliquantulum calicem et aperte dicat : Profert verba Consecrationis secrete super Calicem, tenens illum parum elevatum.

HIC est enim calix sanguinis mei, novi et æterni testamenti : mysterium fidei : qui pro vobis et pro multis effundetur in remissionem peccatorum.

Tunc elevet calicem in altum ut videatur ab omnibus, et statim reponat calicem in locum suum, et cooperiendo³³ eum dicat : *Prolatis verbis Consecrationis, deponit Calicem super Corporale, et dicens secrete :*

HÆC quotiescumque feceritis, in mei memoriam facietis.

Tunc extendat brachia sua in modum crucifixi et dicat : *Genuflexus adorat, surgit, ostendit populo, deponit, cooperit, et iterum adorat. Deinde disjunctis manibus dicit :*

UNDE et memores, Domine, nos tui servi, (servi tui, *Rom.*) sed et plebs tua sancta, (eiusdem. *Rom.*) Christi Filii tui

pallam, et ibi elevatur discoopertus absque velamine." *Lib. iv. cap. 42. 30.* *S. Anselm* speaks upon the point, in his reply to Walerannus: who had complained of the usage contrary to that of his own Church. (Newburgh.) "Quod vero nonnulli" says the Archbishop of Canterbury "ab initio Calicem operiunt, quidam Corporali, alii panno complicato propter custodiam immunditie; nec nudum dimitunt Calicem, sicut Christus nudus crucifixus est, ut sicut significatis, ostenderet se mundo revelatum: non magis intelligo eos debere reprehendi propter nuditatem Christi, quæ non significant (*sic*) ab illis in sacrificando; quam quia non demonstrant in eodem sacrificio, eum esse crucifixum extra civitatem, extra domum, et sub nudo coelo.—Neque conjectare possum cur potius curandum sit, ne panno operiatur sacrificium, quia Christus nudus passus est; quam ne sub tecto, vel intra civitatem fiat, quoniam Christus sub nudo coelo extra civitatem passus est. Si autem usus non habet, ut extra tectum fiat propter perturbationes aeris: simili causa videtur ut calix in sacrificando non discooperiatur, prop-

SARUM.

BANGOR.

EBOR.

Filii tui Domini Dei nostri tam beatæ passionis, neenon et ab inferis resurrectionis, sed et in cœlos gloriosæ ascensionis, offerimus præclaræ Majestati tuæ de tuis donis ac datis,

*Hic signet ter
ultra hostiam
et calicem si-
mul:*

HOSTIAM pu⁺ram,³⁴ hostiam sanc⁺ tam, hostiam imma⁺culatam: (*Hic hostiam tantum: Bangor.*) Panem sanc⁺ tum vitæ æternæ, et Ca⁺licem salutis perpetuæ.

*Hic respiciat
sacrificium di-
cens:*

SUPRA quæ propitio ac sereno vultu respicere digneris: et accepta habere, sicuti accepta habere dignatus es munera pueri tui justi Abel, et sacrificium Patriarchæ nostri Abraham: et quod tibi obtulit summus sacerdos tuus Melchisedech, sanctum sacrificium, immaculatam hostiam.

Hic sacerdos corpore inclinato³⁵ et can- *Hic corpore inclinato*

ter quasdam quæ contingere possunt, incommoditates. Tutijs itaque et diligentius puto ut calix, ne aut musca, aut aliiquid indecens in illum cadat (quod saepe contigisse cognovimus) operiatur: quia discoopertus contingentibus immunditiis exponatur.” *Opera.* p. 139. Hence it would seem that in S. Anselm’s time, the custom of England was different from that of after-years, unless the Church of Canterbury varied in this respect from the Churches of Salisbury, York, &c. But, we must not forget, that the Archbishop neither knew nor was speaking of any elevation.

³⁴ I have not thought it necessary to be continually pointing out the vast number of signs of the Cross which are appointed to be made during the Service, according to the old English Uses, and the modern Roman. The reader will not require me to remind him, that in such an intolerable multitude, they are of late introduction; and in effect when seen, I should suppose, at least unbecoming, if not ridiculous.

But these five crosses in particular are a stumbling block in the way of the ritualists of the Church of Rome; who fail in explaining how it is that they are to be used after the Consecration. They are earlier doubtless than the introduction of the doctrine of Transubstantiation, and it would be well according to the admission of *Maldonatus* that they should be omitted. Vide

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Domini (Dei, *Herf.*) nostri tam beatæ passionis, neenon et ab inferis resurrectionis, sed et in cœlos gloriosæ ascensionis, (*Tunc teneat brachia ut prius et dicat, Herf.*) offerimus præclaræ Majestati tuæ de tuis donis ac datis,

*signet calicem ter:*²⁹

*jungit manus, et signat ter su-
per Hostiam et Calicem simul,*

HOSTIAM **✚** puram, hostiam **✚** sanctam, hostiam **✚** im-
maculatam.

signet solum Corpus:

*signat semel super Hostiam, et
semel super Calicem:*

PANEM **✚** sanctum vitæ aeternæ, (*signet calicem, Herf.*) et
calicem (**✚** *Rom.*) salutis perpetuæ.

*Tunc erigat brachia sua ut prius Extensis manibus prosequitur:
et dicat:*

SUPRA quæ propitio ac sereno vultu respicere digneris: et
accepta habere, sicuti accepta habere dignatus es munera
pueri tui justi Abel, et sacrificium Patriarchæ nostri Abrahæ: et
quod tibi obtulit summus sacerdos tuus Melchisedech, sanctum
sacrificium, immaculatam hostiam.

Tunc cancellatis brachiis in mo- Profunde inclinatus junctis ma-

Benedict. XIV. Opera. tom. 9. p. 176. The Pope calls this however “audax sententia,” and thinks that they might be explained by drawing subtle distinctions between the kinds of Benediction: in which he follows the opinion of Aquinas and others. But, as I before said, these and the doctrine of Transubstantiation in fact oppose each other. And if the crosses are a difficulty, much more is the prayer “Supra quæ propitio,” which follows, irreconcileable with the dogma of Transubstantiation. Anciently matters were not so: and before such novelties were introduced into the Faith of the Church, one part of her Service harmonized with another, and there was no need, as the Roman doctors now cannot but acknowledge, to explain away any prayer that it might not contradict openly statements to which she had unadvisedly been committed. No longer, as once they could, can those branches of the Catholic Church which are in communion with Rome, point boldly to their Liturgy, and say that the prayers and the ceremonies and observances which it contains, are to be interpreted in an honest acceptance and in their ancient and true meaning.

³⁵ (*Corpore inclinato.*) Upon this gesture, all the Liturgies agree, and the old Ritualists speak of it, before this prayer, which was always looked upon as full of mystery. *Amalarius* says: “Sacerdos inclinat se, et hoc,

*SARUM.**BANGOR.**EBOR.**cellatis manibus dicat :**et cancellatis manibus
dicat :*

SUPPLICES te rogamus, omnipotens Deus: jube hæc per-
ferri per manus sancti Angeli tui³⁶ in sublime altare tuum, in
conspectu divinae Majestatis tuæ: ut quotquot,
*Hic erigens se osculetur altare a dextris Osculetur altare a dex-
tris sacrificii dicens :* *tris sacrificii :*
ex hac altaris participatione, sacrosanctum Filii tui cor **✚** pus et
san **✚** guinem sumpserimus:

omni (*hic signet se in faciem dicens, Sar.*) bene **✚** dictione cœlesti
et gratia repleamur. Per eundem (Christum, *Sar. et Bangor.*)
Dominum nostrum. (Amen. *Sar.*)

*Hic oret pro mortuis : Hic oret cogi- Hic oret pro mortuis :
tando pro mor-
tuis dicens hoc
modo :*

MEMENTO³⁷ etiam, Domine,³⁸ (animatorum, *Sar.*) famulo-
rum famularumque tuarum (N. et N. *Sar. et Bangor.*)
(N. *Ebor.*)³⁹ qui nos præcesserunt cum signo fidei, et dormiunt
in somno pacis.

quod vice Christi immolatum est, Deo Patri commendat.” Lib. iii. cap. xxv. So also *Honorius*, lib. i. cap. xlvj. *Innocent III.* lib. v. cap. v. *Hugo Victorinus*, lib. ii. cap. xxxiv. and many others.

Compare the Prayer in the Clementine Liturgy, beginning ‘Ἐτι καὶ ἐτι
ἔτηθῶμεν, &c.

³⁶ (*Per manus sancti Angeli tui.*) Upon the meaning of this passage in this very ancient prayer, there is a great variety of opinion. Some refer it, but I think scarcely with sufficient reason, to our Blessed Lord Himself, as *the Angel*; “per excellentiam Angelus, Sanctus Dei Angelus,” &c. Pope Innocent has said well: “Tante sunt profunditatis hæc verba, ut nulla acies humani ingenii tanta sit, ut ea penetrare possit.” And again, according to another Bishop of Rome, quoted also by the Ritualists:

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dum crucis inclinet se devote sa- nibus, et super altare positis, di- ceros ad altare, dicendo : cit :

SUPPLICES te rogamus, omnipotens Deus : jube hæc per- ferri per manus sancti Angeli tui³⁶ in sublime altare tuum, in conspectu divinae Majestatis tuæ: ut quotquot, *Erigat se, et osculetur altare Osculatur altare :* dicendo :

ex hac altaris participatione, sacrosanctum Filii tui,

Signet corpus,

COR **✚** PUS,

Signet calicem,

et sanguis **✚** nem sumpserimus,

Signet seipsum,

omni bene **✚** dictione cœlesti et gratia repleamur. Per eundem Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

jungit manus, et signat semel super Hostiam, et semel super Calicem,

COR **✚** PUS et san **✚** gi- nem sumpserimus,

seipsum signat,

Erigat brachia et dicat :

Commemoratio pro defunctis.

MEMENTO etiam, Domine, famulorum famularumque tua- rum (*Hic oret pro defunctis in corde suo et postea dicat. Herf. N. et N. Rom.*) qui nos præcesserunt cum signo fidei, et dormiunt in somno pacis.

Jungit manus, orat aliquantu-

“Quis enim fidelium, habere dubium possit in ipsa immolationis hora ad Sacerdotis vocem cœlos aperiri, in illo Iesu Christi mysterio angelorum chorus adesse, summis imma sociari, terrena cœlestibus jungi, &c.”

³⁷ “ When thou has made this orison,
Then shal thou with denucion :
Make thi prayeres in that stede,
For alle thi frendes that are dede :
And for alle cristen soules sake,
Swilk prayere shal thou make.” *Museum MS.*

³⁸ The Bangor *Pontifical* also omits “animarum.”

³⁹ “ illorum et illarum.” *Miss. Leofr.*

IPSIS⁴⁰ Domine, et omnibus in Christo quiescentibus, locum refrigerii, lucis et pacis, ut indulgeas, deprecamur. Per eundem Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

Hic percutiat pectus suum (semel, Sar. et Bangor.) dicens:

NOBI S quoque peccatoribus famulis tuis, de multitudine miserationum tuarum sperantibus, partem aliquam et societatem donare digneris cum tuis sanctis Apostolis et Martyribus: cum Joanne, Stephano,⁴² Matthia, Barnaba, Ignatio, Alessandro, Marcellino, Petro, Felicitate, Perpetua, Agatha, Lucia, Agneta, Cæcilia, Anastasia, et⁴³ (cuni, *Sarum.* et *Ebor.*) omnibus Sanctis tuis: intra quorum nos consortium, non aestimator meriti, sed veniæ, quæsumus, largitor admitte. Per Christum Dominum nostrum.

Hic discooperiat calicem dicens:

PER quem haec omnia Domine, semper bona creas,

*Hic sacerdos ter signet
calicem dicens : Hic signet ter
calicem coop-
eratum dicens :*

SANCTI + FICAS, vivi + ficas, bene + dicis, et præstas
nobis.

Hic sacerdos discooperiat calicem et faciat signaculum crucis cum hostia quinque: primo ultra calicem ex ultraque parte, secundo calici æquale, tertio infra

⁴⁰ "Ipsis et omnibus, Domine, in Christo, &c." *Miss. Leofr.*

⁴ The English rubrics do not specify this alteration of voice, but it was very anciently observed, as *Micrologus*, cap. xvij. and *Amalarius*, lib. iii. cap. 26, both testify. And, which is very important, *Bede* alludes to it as the usual practice in his day in the English Church. *Tract. in Luc.* Pope *Iunovent*, lib. v. Myster. Missæ, cap. xij. and *Duraud*, lib. iv. cap. 46. mention the striking the breast.

⁴² (*Cum Joanne, Stephana sc.*) The martyrs, whose names are especially

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*lun pro iis defunctis, pro quibus
orare intendit, deinde extensis
manibus prosecuitur:*

IPSIS Domine, et omnibus in Christo quiescentibus, locum refrigerii, lucis et pacis, ut indulgeas, deprecamur. Per eundem Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

*Hic tundat pectus dicendo: Manu dextera percutit sibi pe-
tus, elata parum voce⁴¹ dicens:*

NOBIS quoque peccatoribus famulis tuis, de multitudine miserationum tuarum sperantibus, partem aliquam et societatem donare digneris cum tuis sanctis Apostolis et Martyribus: eum Joanne, Stephano, Matthia, Barnaba, Ignatio, Alexander, Marcellino, Petro, Felicitate, Perpetua, Agatha, Lucia, Agneta, Cæcilia, Anastasia, et (cum, *Herford.*) omnibus Sanctis tuis: intra quorum nos consortium, non aestimator meriti, sed veniae, quæsumus, largitor admitte. (*Jungit manus. Rom.*) Per Christum Dominum nostrum. (Amen. *Herf.*)

PER quem hæc omnia, Domine, semper bona creas,

*Faciat signacula ter dicendo: Signat ter super Hostiam et Cu-
licem simul, dicens:*

SANCTI ✠ FICAS, vivi ✠ ficas, bene ✠ dicas, et præstas nobis.

Tunc detegat calicem et teneat eum cum sinistra manu: et signet eum quater cum corpore Christi hoc modo. Primo fa- *Discooperit Calicem, genuflectit, accipit Sacramentum dextera, tenens sinistra Calicem: signat cum Hostia ter a labio ad*

commemorated here, are not of one, but of several classes. Evangelists, Deacons, Apostles, Disciples, Bishops, Popes of Rome, Priests, Exorcists, the married and the virgin states, are all included. The only name which requires a remark, is that of John: which as most of the Ritualists agree, (except the *Gemma Animæ*, lib. i. cap. 107.) refers to St. John the Baptist: who is especially commemorated in this place, in the Liturgies of S. Basil and S. Chrysostom.

⁴¹ “Et cum omnibus.” *Miss. Leofr.*

*SARUM.**BANGOR.**EBOR.*

*calicem, quarto sicut primo, quinto ante
calicem :*

PER ip **+** sum, et cum ip **+** so, et in ip **+** so

est tibi Deo Patri omnipo **+** tenti, in unitate Spiritus **+** sancti
omnis honor et gloria.

*Hic cooperiat sacerdos
calicem, et teneat manus
suas super altare usque
dum dicitur Pater nos-
ter, ita dicens :*

PER omnia sæcula sæculorum.⁴⁴ (Amen. *Sarum.* Oremus.
Bangor et Ebor.)⁴⁵ Præceptis salutaribus moniti, et divina
institutione formati audemus dicere:⁴⁶

*Hic accipiat diaconus patenam, eamque
a dextris sacerdotis extento brachio in
altum usque Da propitius discoopertam⁴⁷
teneat. Hic elevet manus sacerdos di-
cens.⁴⁸*

“ “ Loke pater noster thou be prayande,
Ay to thou here tho priste be sayande,
Per omnia sæcula, al on hight,
Then I wolde thou stonde up right :
For he wil saie with high steuen,
Pater noster to god of heuen :
Herken thou with gode wille,
And whils he saies, hold the stille :
Bot answere at temptationem,
Sed libera nos a malo, Amen.” *Museum MS.*

“ “ *R. Amen. Oremus.*” *Miss. Leofr.* “ *Amen. Oremus.*” *Bangor Pontifical.*

“ “ *De oratione Dominica in missa recitata adeundi Augustinus, (Epist. lix.) Hieronymus adversus Pelagianos, (lib. iii. pag. 543. Paris.) Cyrilus Hieros. (Catech. Mystag. v.) et Gregorius Turonensis. (Lib. ii. de miraeulis S. Martini. cap. xxx. et de Vitis. PP. cap. xvij.)” Georgius. Liturg. Rom. Pontif. tom. iii. p. 109.* The same author adds: “ *Ritus Dominicæ precatiōnis dicendæ, ex S. Gregorio fuit, ut a solo celebrante ea pronunciaretur.*

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ciat largam crucem supra calicem dicendo :

PER \ddagger ipsum : *æqualem calici* : et cum \ddagger ipso : *Infra calicem* : et in \ddagger ipso : *Iterum largam ut primo* : est tibi Deo \ddagger Patri omnipotenti, *Ante calicem*, in unitate Spiritus \ddagger sancti omnis honor et gloria.

Tunc reponat corpus in locum suum et cooperiat calicem : et ponat manus super altare et dicat :

PER omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen. Oremus. Præceptis salutaribus moniti, et divina institutione formati audemus dicere :

Hic sacerdos elevet sursum brachia sua : *Extendit manus:*

Alta voce recitari solebat, ac hujus ritus reddit Amalarius. (*Lib. iii. cap. xxix.*) In Galliis mos fuit, ut a populo oratio Dominica repeteretur. (*Massillon. De Lit. Gallic. lib. i. v. 22.*) Hic idem ritus apud Græcos etiam servabatur. In Missa Mozarabum ad singulas fere petitiones populus respondebat, *Amen.* Hugo Victorinus auctor est (*Lib. ii. xxxix.*) verba ; *Sed libera nos a malo*, a choro dicta fuisse. De voce *Amen*, in fine orationis Dominicæ veterrima expositio Missæ apud Martenium (*Tom. i. p. 451.*) hæc adnotat : *Amen*, inquit, signaculum orationis Dominicæ posuere, ubi fideliter possumus dicere, sequentem : *Libera nos, &c.*”

⁴⁷ (*Discoopertam.*) Vide Note 73. p. 59. The reason why it was now held uncovered, is stated in the rubric of the modern Paris Missal, that the people might know that the time of communicating was close at hand. One of the Prayers in the Salisbury Pontifical, at the consecrating of a Paten, refers to this especial use of it: “Consecrare digneris hanc Patenam in administrationem Eucharistiae.” See the Office in the *Monumenta Ritualia*, vol. i.

⁴⁸ Very anciently the people joined with the Priest here in repeating aloud the whole of the Lord’s prayer. This is clear from a passage in *S. Gregory of Tours.* “Factum est autem cum dominica oratio diceretur,

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labium Calicis, dicens :

PER ip \ddagger sum, et cum ip \ddagger so, et in ip \ddagger so, *Bis signat inter Calicem et pectus*, est tibi Deo Patri \ddagger omnipotenti, in unitate Spiritus \ddagger sancti, *Elevans parum Calicem cum Hostia, dicit* : omnis honor et gloria.

Reponit Hostiam, cooperit Calicem genuflectit, surgit, et dicit :

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PATER noster, qui es in cœlis: Sanctificetur nomen tuum: Adveniat regnum tuum: Fiat voluntas tua, sicut in cœlo, et in terra. Panem nostrum quotidianum da nobis hodie: et dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris. Et ne nos inducas in temptationem. (*Chorus respondeat, Sar.*) Sed libera nos a malo.

Sacerdos privatum: *Sacerdos dicat:*

A MEN.⁴⁹

A MEN.

A MEN.

et statim:

LIBERA nos, quæsumus Domine, ab omnibus malis, præteritis, præsentibus et futuris: et intercedente (pro nobis, *Ebor.*) beata et gloria semper (semperque, *Sar.*) virgine Dei genitrici Maria, et beatis Apostolis tuis Petro et Paulo, atque Andrea, cum⁵⁰ omnibus Sanctis, (tuis, *Bangor.*)⁵¹

Hic committat diaconus patenam sacerdoti deosculans manum ejus: et sacerdos deosculetur patenam: postea ponat ad sinistrum oculum: deinde ad dexterum: postea faciat crucem cum patena ultra caput: et tunc re-

haec aperto ore coepit sanctam orationem cum reliquis decantare.” He is relating a miracle worked in the case of a deaf woman. *De mirac. S. Martini.* l. ii. c. 30. This continued in the Gallic Churches up to about the xj Century: for *Iro Carnoteusis* observes, that by these words “*Præceptis salutaribus, &c.*” the Priest exhorts the people to repeat this prayer with him. In the earliest ages the Lord’s Prayer was only allowed to those who had been baptized: and in the old *Ordo Romanus*, it was taught to all who were about to be admitted to that Sacrament, (on the Easter Eve) upon the fourth day after the fourth Sunday in Lent. See *Bona.* tom. iii. p. 324.

⁴⁹ Amen: omitted in *Miss Leofr.*

HERFORD.

ROM.

PATER noster, qui es in cœlis: Sanctificetur nomen tuum: Adveniat regnum tuum: Fiat voluntas tua, sicut in cœlo, et in terra. Panem nostrum quotidianum da nobis hodie: et dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris. Et ne nos inducas in temptationem. (R. Rom.) Sed libera nos a malo.

*Sacerdos secrete dicit:***A**MEN.**A**MEN.

Deinde accipit patenam inter indicem et medium digitos, et dicit:

LIBERA nos, quæsumus Domine, ab omnibus malis, præteritis, præsentibus et futuris: et intercedente (pro nobis, *Herford.*) beata et gloria semper virgine Dei genitrici Maria, et (cum, *Rom.*) beatis Apostolis tuis Petro et Paulo, atque Andrea, cum (et, *Rom.*) omnibus Sanctis, (tuis, *Herford.*)

Tunc sumat patenam cum dextera manu, et tangat ambos oculos suos cum ea et osculetur eam dicendo:

Signat se cum patena a fronte ad pectus, et eam osculatur:

⁵⁰ In many ancient Missals and Sacramentaries other names of Saints are found added here. That edited by Pamelius adds, for example, *Cyriacus* and *Martinus*. From what *Micrologus* says, we may conclude that in his time, such additions were allowable at the pleasure of the Priest, or according to the Use of the particular Church. “Aliorum sanctorum nomina annumerare non debemus, nisi quos in Canone invenimus antiquitus descriptos, excepto post, *Pater noster*, in illa oratione, ubi juxta ordinem quorumlibet sanctorum nomina internumerare possumus.” *De Ecc. obserr.* cap. xijj. The prayer as it stands in the text, is the same as in the Gregorian and Gelasian Sacramentaries.

⁶¹ This also is the reading of the Bangor Pontifical.

SARUM.

BANGOR.

EBOR.

*ponat eam in locum
suum dicens :*

DA propitius pacem in diebus nostris: ut ope misericordiæ tuæ adjuti, et a peccato simus semper liberi, et ab omni perturbatione securi.

*Hic discooperiat calicem, et sumat cor-
pus cum inclinatione, transponens in con-
cavitate calicis, retinendo inter pollices et
indices, et frangat⁵² in tres partes,⁵³
(prima fractio, Bangor.) dum dicitur :*

PER eumdem⁵⁴ Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum Filium tuum.

secunda fractio : *secunda frac-
tio :*

QUI tecum vivit et regnat in unitate Spiritus sancti Deus.⁵⁵

⁵² (*Et frangat.*) i. e. *Corpus*: as it is more plainly expressed in the Use of Hereford. The Roman Liturgy has “*accipit Hostiam, frangit eam.*” In this distinction is involved a point of no little importance. The Ambrosian Missal, has a form still stronger than the old Rubries of the English Church: “*Corpus tuum frangitur, Christe, calix benedicitur:*” *Editt.* 1560. 1831. and in the beginning of the last Century these words were considered by many of high authority in the Church of Rome to be so objectionable, that great efforts were made to expunge them from the Milan Liturgy. The point was, that they opposed that well known dogma; “*integrum Christi corpus esse in quolibet Hostiae fragmento, integrumque a Fidelibus sumi in quacunque Hostiae particula.*” According to a hymn sung in the Church of Rome on Corpus Christi day, and formerly also in the Liturgies of the English Church; (*in die Eucharistia*, according to the Use of Hereford):

“ A sumente non concisus,
Non confractus, non divisus,
Integer accipitur.”

Here again must the plain meaning which these words “*sumat corpus et frangat illud,*” bear, the meaning which is primitive and true, be explained away: the Roman Church declares that honestly to say “*Frangitur corpus Christi,*” is heretical: that we must only mean what no one can understand, *franguntur species.* Such, at any rate, was not the doctrine of the

HERFORD.

ROM.

DA propitiis pacem in diebus nostris : ut ope misericordiae tuae adjuti, (*signet se cum ea et osculetur eam iterum dicendo, Herford.*) et a peccato simus semper liberi, et ab omni perturbatione securi.

Tunc reponat patenam super altare, et discooperto calice, sumat corpus Christi reverenter in manibus suis, et supra calicem frangat illud per medium dicendo :

PER eumdem Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum Filium tuum.

Et illam partem in dextera manu frangat per medium dicendo :

Submittit Patenam Hostiæ, discooperit Calicem, genuflectit, surgit, accipit Hostiam, frangit eam super Calicem, per medium, dicens :

Partem, quæ in dextera est, ponit super Patenam. Deinde ex parte, quæ in sinistra remansit, frangit particulam, dicens :

QUI tecum vivit et regnat in unitate Spiritus sancti Deus.

Church Catholic for the first thousand years of her existence : and again, we, who are members of that branch of it, the English Church, may congratulate ourselves, that we are not driven to such extremities of explanation in our own times.

⁵³ (*Et frangat in tres partes.*) Upon this rite, which Bona calls as it indeed is, “ antiquissimus,” and which may be traced up to the most remote antiquity, I would recommend the reader to consult the authors whom he cites, and our own very learned writer, *Bingham*, book xv. cap. iii. with Sala’s reply, in his notes upon Cardinal Bona. tom. iii. p. 328.—The Greek Church divides into four parts, and the Mozarabic Missal orders, into nine portions : to which separate names are given, having reference to the Life, Passion, and Glory of our B. Saviour.

Of the three portions into which the English Church used to direct that the Bread should be broken, one was to be dropped into the Chalice, the other taken, and the third and largest, either taken by the Priest also, or distributed to the Communicants, and reserved for the sick. Now, when the Pope of Rome solemnly celebrates, is found a remnant of the ancient practice ; he divides the third part into two, and communicates the Deacon and Sub-deacon.

⁵⁴ *Eumdem* : omitted in *Miss. Leofr.*

⁵⁵ *Deus* : omitted in *Miss. Leofr.*

SARUM.

BANGOR.

EBOR.

*Hic teneat duas fracturas in sinistra
manu: et tertiam fracturam in dextera
manu in summitate calicis, ita dicens
aperta voce:*

PER omnia sæcula sæculorum.⁵⁶
Amen.

PER omnia sæcula
sæculorum.

⁵⁶ It was after this, and before the “Pax domini,” that the ancient Episcopal benedictions were recited. An account of them may be seen in the Ritualists, although they no longer are used in the Roman Church; I would refer the reader also to my *Dissertation on the Service Books: Monumenta Ritualia*, vol. i. under the title, “Benedictionale.”

According to the Mozarabic Missal, Priests were allowed to give this benediction: and the 18th Canon of the 4th Counc. of Toledo, insists on their doing so: “Nonnulli Sacerdotes post dictam Orationem Dominicam statim communicant et postea benedictionem Populo dant: quod deinceps interdicimus: sed post orationem Dominicam, benedictio in Populum sequatur.” *Mabillon* says, that the same permission existed very anciently in the Gallic Liturgy. *De Lit. Gall.* lib. i. 4. 13. The reader will find one or two examples of these Episcopal Benedictions, in the Additional Notes, which will enable him to judge of their general character.

The Episcopal benedictions during the Service of the Holy Communion are not unfrequently alluded to in ancient documents. For example: in the year 1309, before the Council of London, a solemn Mass was celebrated: “Et est sciendum, quod Norwicensis, qui celebravit missam, dedit solemnam benedictionem in missa.” *Wilkins. Concilia. tom. ii. p. 304.* Again, in the account of the Mass before a Provincial Synod in the same year, we read: “In fine vero missæ, ante *Agnus Dei*, prædictus Episcopus Norwyc. de præcepto et licentia speciali Cantuar. archiepiscopi solemnam benedictionem super populum fecit. Expleta missa archiepiscopus benedictionem populo dedit.” *Concilia. tom. ii. p. 312.*

At this period also of the Service denunciations of excommunications, and prayers sometimes were to be said: some examples of which are given by *Bona*: and *Angelo Rocea*, “de Campanis.” To those I would add from *Wilkins*: “Advertentes insuper præsentium turbationum pericula, quæ veraciter ex nostris excessibus et delictis causari creduntur, ad quorum inde remedium opportunum decet et expedit divinum implorare subsidium: vobis cæterisque coepiscopis antedictis injungimus, ut psalmos et orationes pro pace, antequam dicatur ‘Pax Domini,’ intra missas et processiones publicas, prout jamdudum mandabamus, dici ac fieri faciatis, et faciant diligenter.” *Concilia. tom. ii. 222. a. d. 1296.*

The following also from the oath of an Abbot of Westminster, for fulfilling the Will of K. Henry VII. “Item I shall cause every monke singing and sayeing in the Chapitre Masse in the said monasterie—to sing and say devoutly for the same kyng, at euery such masse after the fraccion of the Holy Sacrament, and before the holye prayer of *Agnus Dei*, all such

HERFORD.

Remaneant duæ partes in sinistra manu: et tertia in dextera, et dicat:

PER omnia sæcula sæculo-rum. Amen.

ROM.

Aliam medianam partem cum ipsa sinistra ponit super Patenam, et dextera tenens particulam super Calicem, sinistra Calicem, dicit:

PER omnia sæcula sæculo-rum. ¶. Amen.

special Psalms, Orations and Prayers for the same kyng, as be conteigned in the same indentures.” *Dugdale. Monast. Anglie.* vol. i. p. 279.

To this part of the Service are also to be referred the *Preces in prostracione*, which are commonly found in the printed editious of the Sarum Missal: according to the rubrie: “Et sciendum est quod in omni missa quando de feria dicitur fiat prostratio a toto choro statim post *Sanetus usque Pax Domini*, per totum annum: nisi a Pascha usque, *Deus omnium*.” These prayers consisted of three psalms *Deus venerunt gentes: Deus misereatur nostri: and Domine in virtute tua*: followed by some Verses and Responses, and three Collects. viz. “Oremus. Deus qui admirabili providentia cuneta disponis, te suppliciter exoramus: ut terram quam unigenitus Filius tuus proprio sanguine consereravit, de manibus inimicorum crucis Christi eripiens restitutas cultui Christiano, vota fidelium ad ejus liberacionem instantium misericorditer dirigendo in viam pacis æternæ.

Oratio. Rege quæsumus, Domine, famulum tuum pontificem nostrum: et intercedente beata Dei genitrice semperque virgine Maria, cum omnibus sanctis tuis, gratiae tuæ dona in eo multiplica: ut ab omnibus liberetur offensis: et temporalibus non destituatur auxiliis: et sempiternis gaudeat institutis.

Oratio. Da, quæsumus omnipotens Deus, famulo tuo regi nostro salutem mentis et corporis: ut bonis operibus inhærendo, tuæ semper virtutis mereatur protectione defendi. Per eundem Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen. *Sequatur. Pax Domini. &c.*” The first of these at least, is to be traced to the æra of the Crusades.

A similar Office is appointed in the other English Missals: but they vary as to the days on which it may be said. Thus, the York Use appoints two different arrangements of psalms and prayers: the Bangor has one only: and so the Hereford. The order of this last is as follows.

“ *In missa de die vel de pace vel pro familiaribus: dicantur preces hoc modo.* — *Quando sacerdos hanc missam celebrauit, postquam Pater noster dixerit et Per omnia sæcula sæculorum: antequam dicat Pax domini, dicantur hi psalmi a sacerdote cum ministris, et similiter a choro sub silentio: videlicet, ps. Domine in virtute tua. Deus misereatur. ps. Letatus sum. Dictis psalmis: dicatur Kyrie eleyson. &c.*” Then follow verses and responses as in the Salisbury Use: after which these three collects.

“ *Oratio.* Da quæsumus, Domine, famulo tuo.” as above.

“ *Alia oratio.* Miserere quæsumus, Domine, populo tuo: et continuis tribulationibus laborantem propitius respirare concede. Per Dominum.

“ *Alia oratio.* Deus, a quo sancta desideria, recta concilia et justa sunt

SARUM.

BANGOR.

EBOR.

*Hic faciat ter signum
crucis dicens :***P**AX Do **+** mini sit sem **+** per vo **+** biscum.*Chorus respondeat :**Chorus res-
pondat aperta
voce.***E**T cum spiritu tuo.

Ad Agnus Dei dicendum⁵⁷ accedant diaconus et subdiaconus ad sacerdotem uterque a dextris : diaconus propior, subdiaconus remotior, et dicant privatim :⁵⁸

AGNUS Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis.⁵⁹**A**GNUS Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis.

opera: da servis tuis illam quam mundus dare non potest, pacem, ut et corda nostra mandatis tuis dedita, et hostium sublata formitudine tempora sint tua protectione tranquilla. Per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum Filium tuum, qui tecum vivit et regnat, in unitate Spiritus sancti Deus, per omnia saecula saeculorum. Amen.

⁵⁷ See a very learned disquisition in *Gerbert. De Musica.* tom. i. p. 454. &c. as to the ancient custom of singing or saying this, and whether the people joined with the Choir. A passage in *Ælfric's Homilies* appears to prove that in his time, the *Agnus Dei* was sung in the Churches of England. “ Be þam singað Godes þeowas æt alescere mæssan. Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis. þat is on urum geþeode. &c.” Hom. in di. sanet. Paschæ. It was forbidden on Easter Eve in that age by the Canons of *Ælfric*: (whether the same *Ælfric* I cannot say.) “ On Easter Eve, let

HERFORD.

Deinde cum parte hostiæ quam tenet in manu dextera fiant tres crucis supra calicem, dicendo:

PAX **†** Domini sit **†** semper vobis **†** cum.

ROM.

Cum ipsa particula signat ter super Calicem, dicens:

ET cum spiritu tuo.

¶.

ET cum spiritu tuo.

Particulam ipsam immittit in Calicem, dicens secreto:

HÆC commixtio et consecratio Corporis et Sanguinis Domini nostri Jesu Christi, fiat accipientibus nobis in vitam æternam, Amen.

Ad Agnus Dei dicendum, accedant diaconus et subdiaconus ad sacerdotem uterque a dextris: diaconus propior et subdiaconus remotior: et dicant privatim:

AGNUS Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis.

AGNUS Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis.

there not be sung at the mass-offering, neither *Agnus Dei*, nor ‘Communia,’ but among those who desire the housel, let the chanter begin: *Alleluia. &c.*” *Thorpe. Antient Laws and Institutes.* vol. ii. p. 359.

⁵⁸ “ Then eft sone tho prist wil saye,
Stande stille and herken him al waye:
He saie AGNUS thryse or he cese,
Tho last worde he spekis of pese:
—Then is gode of god to crave,
That thou charyte may haue:
There when tho prist pax wil kis,
Knele thou and praye then this.” *Museum MS.*

⁶⁹ The Canon of the Leofric Missal ends here.

*SARUM.**BANGOR.**EBOR.*

AGNUS Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, dona nobis pacem.⁶⁰

Hic cruce signando deponat dictam tertiam partem hostiæ in sacramento sanguinis (in sanguine, Bangor.) sic dicendo:

HÆC sacrosancta commixtio corporis et sanguinis Domini nostri Jesu Christi fiat mihi (nobis, *Ebor.*) et omnibus⁶¹ (omnibusque, *Sar.*) sumentibus salus mentis et corporis: et ad vitam æternam (promerendam et, *Sar. et Bangor.*) capescendam⁶² preparatio salutaris.⁶³

PER eundem Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

PER eundem Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum Filium tuum. Qui tecum vivit et regnat.

Antequam pax detur dicat sacerdos:

DOMINE, sancte Pater, omnipotens aeterno Deus: da mihi hoc sacrosanctum corpus et sanguinem Filii tui Domini nostri Jesu Christi ita digne sumere: ut merear per hoc remissionem omnium peccatorum meorum accipere et tuo Sancto Spiritu repleri, et pacem tuam habere. Quia tu es Deus (solus, *Bangor.*) et non est aliud

⁶⁰ “Propter denique schisma e medio tollendum, et propter pacem Christi fidelibus a Deo impetrandam, ad hanc usque diem remansit Ritus dicendi, *Dona nobis pacem*, in tertio Agnus Dei, dum celebratur Missa. Antiquitus enim tribus vicibus uniformiter dicebatur; *miserere nobis*: sed ob multas et varias Ecclesiæ olim adversitates Ecclesia cœpit ad Dominum de tribulatione clamare: *Dona nobis pacem.*” *Angelo Rocca. De Campanis.* cap. xvij. He goes on to quote from *Innocent*, the practice still observed “in Basilica Lateranensi” as being the most ancient Church, of repeating the *miserere nobis* three times: and complains that *Durand* in his *Rationale*, lib. iv. cap. 25, has spoken of this, and of the alteration, without acknowledging the authority of *Innocent*.

⁶¹ The Bangor Pontifical reads, “omnibusque.”

HERFORD.

ROM.

AGNUS Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, dona nobis pacem.

*Tunc partem quam tenet in
dextera manu ponat in calice
dicendo :*

HÆC sacrosancta commix-
tio corporis et sanguinis
Domini nostri Jesu Christi fiat
mili et omnibus sumentibus
salus mentis et corporis : et ad
vitam æternam promerendam
et capescendam præparatio sa-
lutaris. Per eundem Christum.
etc.

Oratio.

*Deinde junctis manibus super
altare, inclinatus dicit sequentes
Orationes.*

DOMINE Jesu Christe, qui dixisti Apostolis tuis : pacem
meam do vobis, pacem relinquo vobis : (Pacem relinquo
vobis, pacem meam do vobis : *Rom.*) ne respicias peccata mea,
sed fidem Ecclesiæ tuæ : eamque secundum voluntatem tuam
pacificare et coadunare dignare : (digneris. *Rom.*) Qui vivis et
regnas Deus, per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

⁶² Ad vitam æternam capescendam.” Bangor Pontifical.

⁶³ This prayer is a very remarkable one, retained as it was so long in the English Church, after the Communion of the Cup had been denied to the laity. It is not in the Roman Use, in the editions of the 15th Century. Archbishop Cranmer in his Answer of the Devonshire rebels, was not forgetful of the argument which this prayer so decidedly affords, for the Communion in both kinds. *Vide Remains.* vol. ii. 217.

The mystical intention of the Immission into the Cup is explained by *Micrologus*. “Ad designandum corporis et animæ conjunctionem in resurrectione Christi.” *Cap. xvij.* And to the same effect *Innocent the Third*. “Commixtio panis et vini, designat unionem carnis et animæ, quæ in resurrectione Christi denuo sunt unitæ.”

SARUM.

BANGOR.

EBOR.

præter te: cuius regnum gloriosum permanet in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Hic osculetur sacerdos corporalia in dextera parte et summitatem calicis, et postea diaconum dicens:

PAX tibi et ecclæsiæ.

PAX tibi et ecclesiæ Dei.

Hic detur osculum pacis dicendo:

HABETE vinculum pacis et caritatis, ut apti sitis sacrosanctis mysteriis Dei.

Responsio:

Responsio diaconi:

ET cum spiritu tuo.

ET cum spiritu tuo.

Diaconus a dextris sacerdotis ab eo pacem recipiat⁶⁴ et subdiacono porrigit: deinde ad gradum chori ipse diaconus pacem portet rectoribus chori: et ipsi pacem choro portent uterque suæ parti incipiens a majoribus. Post pacem datam dicat sacerdos orationes sequentes privatim, antequam se communicet: tenendo hostiam duabus manibus:

Hic inclinet se sacerdos, dicens orationes sequentes antequam communiceat, tenendo hostiam duabus manibus:

⁶⁴ (*Diaconus pacem recipiat.*) Pax: instrumentum, quod inter Missarum solemnia populo osculum præbetur. *Du Cange.* Gloss. The introduction of the Pax instead of the old practice of mutual salutation was not until about the thirteenth century. In a Council held at York, in the year 1250, under Walter Gray, Archbishop, the earliest mention occurs of the Pax, or *Osculatorium*, as used in England. It is named among the ornaments and furniture of the Altar, which were to be provided by the parishioners. *Willius.* Concil. i. 698. Again, in the same collection, ii. 280, we find a similar order to have been made in the province of Canterbury, in the year 1305, at the Council of Merton: “*tabulas pacis ad osculatorium.*” Both of these Constitutions are to be found also in *Johnson’s Eccles. Laws*, vol. ii. Several figures of the Pax are given in works relating to the subject, and in many of the printed editions of the Sarum Missal it is represented as part of the furniture of the Altar, in the woodcut which commonly precedes the Service for Advent Sunday. *Le Brun*, tom. i. p. 292, has an interesting disquisition on the subject of the *Pax*: and in a note states that why it also, in its own turn fell into disuse abroad, was on account of quar-

HERFORD.

RōM.

Tunc offerat pacem: sed primo osculetur calicem: deinde altare dicendo:

HABETE vinculum caritatis et pacis, ut apti sitis sacris mysteriis Dei.

Si danda est pax, osculatur altare, et dans pacem, dicit:

PAX tecum.

Et osculando ministrum dicat: R.

PAX Christi et sanctæ ecclesiæ tibi et cunctis ecclesiæ filiis.

ET cum spiritu tuo.

rels about precedency which it occasioned among the people. Notices of the Pax are common in the Monastic and Church Inventories. See also the Injunctions given (1548. 2 Edwd. vj.) to the Deanery of Doncaster. “ And the clerk in like manner shall bring down the Pax, and standing without the Church door, shall say boldly to the people these words: ‘ This is a token of joyful peace, which is betwixt God and men’s conscience. Christ alone is the peace-maker, which straitly commands peace between brother and brother.’ ” *Hierurgia Anglie.* p. 2. In the *Rites of Durham Abbey* we are told, that they possessed “ a marvelous Faire Booke, which had the Epistles and Gospels in it, the which booke had on the outside of the coveringe the picture of our Saviour Christ, all of silver—whiche booke did serve for the Pax in the Masse.” P. 7. A book which an Abbot of Glastonbury gave to his Church there, might have, and possibly did answer the same purpose. “ Unum textum argenteum et auratum, cum cruce fixo, Maria et Johanne, splendidus emalatum.” *Johan. Glaston. de rebus Glaston. Hearne.* p. 265.

SARUM.

BANGOR.

EBOR.

O REMUS.

DEUS Pater, fons et origo totius bonitatis, qui ductus misericordia Unigenitum tuum pro nobis ad infima mundi descendere, et carnem sumere voluisti: quam ego indignus hic in manibus meis teneo:

Hic inclinet se sacerdos ad hostiam dicens:

TE adoro, te glorifico, te tota cordis (ae mentis meæ, *Bangor.*) intentione laudo: et precor, ut nos famulos tuos non deseras, sed peccata nostra dimittas: quatenus tibi soli Deo vivo et vero puro corde ac (et, *Bangor.*) casto corpore servire mereamur. (valeamus, *Bangor.*⁶⁵) Per eundem Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

DOMINE Jesu Christe, Fili Dei vivi, qui ex voluntate Patris cooperante Spiritu sancto per mortem tuam mundum vivificasti: libera me, (quæso, *Bangor.*) per hoc sacrosanctum corpus et hunc sanguinem tuum a cunctis iniuritatibus meis, et ab universis malis: et fac me tuis semper obedire mandatis: et a te nunquam in perpetuum permittas separari: (separari permittas. Salvator mundi,⁶⁶ *Bangor.*) Qui cum Deo Patre, et eodem Spiritu sancto, vivis et regnas Deus: per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

CORPORIS et sanguinis tui, Domine Jesu (Christe, *Bangor.*) sa-

DOMINE, sanete Pater, omnipotens æterne Deus, da nobis hoc corpus et sanguinem Filii tui Domini Dei nostri Iesu Christi ita sumere, ut mereamur per hoc remissionem peccatorum nostrorum accipere et tuo sancto Spiritu repleri: quia tu es Deus, et praeter te non est alius nisi tu solus. Qui vivis et regnas Deus.

O REMUS.

PERCEPTIO corporis et sanguinis

⁶⁵ The Bangor Pontifical also reads, " valeamus."

HERFORD.

ROM.

Oratio.

DOMINE, sancte Pater,
omnipotens aeterni Deus,
da mihi hoc sacrosanctum cor-
pus et sanguinem Filii tui ita
digne sumere ut merear per hoc
remissionem omnium peccato-
rum meorum accipere: et tuo
sancto Spiritu repleri: quia tu es
Deus solus, et praeter te non est
alius: cuius regnum et imperi-
um sine fine permanet in sæcula
sæculorum. Amen.

Alia oratio.

DOMINE Jesu Christe, Fili Dei vivi, qui ex voluntate Patris,
cooperante Spiritu sancto, per mortem tuam mundum vivi-
ficasti: libera me per hoc sacrosanctum corpus et sanguinem
tuum, ab omnibus iniquitatibus meis et (ab, *Herford.*) universis
malis, et fac me tuis semper obedire (inhærente, *Rom.*) mandatis,
et a te nunquam in perpetuum permittas separari. (et a te nun-
quam separari permittas. *Rom.*)

QUI vivis et regnas cum
Deo Patre in unitate
eiusdem, etc.

QUI cum eodem Deo Patre
et Spiritu sancto vivis et
regnas Deus in sæcula sæculo-
rum. Amen.

PERCEPTIO Corporis tui,
Domine Jesu Christe,

⁶⁶ This is an important variation: with which agrees also the Bangor
Pontifical.

SARUM.

eramentum quod licet indignus accipio : non sit mihi judicio et condemnationi, sed tua proposita pietate corporis mei et animæ saluti. Amen.

BANGOR.

EBOR.

tui, Domine Jesu Christe, quam indignus sumere præsumo : non mihi veniat ad judicium nec ad condemnationem, sed pro tua pietate proposita mihi ad tutamentum animæ et corporis. Qui cum Deo Patre et Spiritu sancto vivis et regnas Deus.

REMUS.

O DOMINE Jesu Christe, Fili Dei vivi, qui ex voluntate Patris, cooperante Spiritu sancto, per mortem tuam mundum vivificasti : libera me per hoc sacrosanctum corpus et sanguinem tuum ab omnibus iniquitatibus et universis malis meis : et fac me tuis obedire præceptis et a te nunquam in perpetuum separari permittas. Qui cum Deo Patre et eodem Spiritu sancto vivis et regnas Deus. Per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

HERFORD.

ROM.

quod ego indignus sumere præsumo, non mihi proveniat in judicium et condemnationem : sed pro tua pietate proxit mihi ad tutamentum mentis et corporis, et ad medelam percipiendam. Qui vivis et regnas cum Deo Patre in unitate Spiritus sancti Deus, per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Genusfectit, surgit, et dicit :

DEUS Pater, fons et origo totius bonitatis, qui misericordia ductus Unigenitum tuum pro nobis ad infima mundi descendere, et carnem sumere voluisti, quem ego indignus et miserrimus peccator hic manibus teneo, te adoro, te glorifico, te tota cordis intentione laudo, et precor ut nos famulos tuos non deseras sed peccata nostra deleas : quatenus tibi soli Deo vivi et vero, puro corde et casto corpore semper servire valeamus. Per eundem.

AGIMUS tibi Deo Patri gratias pro jam beatificatis, postulantes eorum interventu apud te adjuvari : pro his autem qui adhuc sunt in purgatoriis locis, offerimus tibi Patri Filium : supplicantes ut per hanc sacrosanctam hostiam eorum poena levior sit et brevior : pro nobis autem quos adhuc gravant peccata carnis et sanguinis immolamus tibi

PANEM cœlestem accipi- am, et nomen Domini invocabo.

Deinde parum inclinatus, accipit ambas partes Hostie inter pollicem et indicem sinistræ manus, et patenam inter eundem indicem et medium, et dextera percutiens pectus, elevata aliquantulum voce, dicit ter devote et humiliter :

DOMINE non sum dignus, ut intres sub tectum meum : sed tantum dic verbo, et sanabitur anima mea.

SARUM.

BANGOR.

EBOR.

*Ad corpus dicat⁶⁸ cum
humiliatione antequam
percipiat:*

*Ad corpus
cum inclinati-
one antequam
percipiat di-
cat:*

*Hic sumat corpus cruce
prius facta cum ipso
corpore ante: deinde
ad sanguinem dicens:*

AVE in æternum sanctissima caro Christi: mihi ante omnia et super omnia summa dulcedo. Corpus Domini nostri Jesu Christi sit mihi peccatori via et vita. (Amen. *Bangor.*)

IN nomine **†** Patris,
et Filii, et Spiritus
sancti.

Hic sumat corpus,⁶⁹ Hic debet sa-

CORPUS Domini
nostrri Jesu Christi
sit mihi remedium semi-
piternum in vitam æter-
nam. Amen.

⁶⁷ In the first edition of the “Ancient Liturgy,” I was obliged to leave a part of this prayer conjecturally supplied in Italics: “apud te adjunvari: et pro defunctis fidelibus offerimus &c.” As I then stated in a note, this was because one of the two copies of the Hereford Use in the Bodleian Library had an erasure in this place, which was supplied with those words in an old hand, though (as I also remarked) they could not be those which originally had been there: and the other had lost the leaf altogether. I was not then aware (through some error which I cannot now account for) that the copy which I spoke of as being in S. John’s College, Oxford, was not a *York*, (see Pref. 1st Edit. p. lxxvij) but a *Hereford* Missal. This Book upon examination, though very imperfect and mutilated in many places, yet happily supplies the perfect text, in this important prayer, as I have given it above.

Since the publication of that edition, I have also found this prayer, occupying somewhat the same place in the Canon, in the MS. Missal said to have belonged to the Church of St. Paul’s, London; and of which I have spoken in the Preface to the present Edition.

⁶⁸ It will be observed that the English Uses differ in the Form at receiving. When the sacred Elements were delivered to the people, there was also a considerable variety in the words used. From *S. Ambrose*, *de Sacramentis*, *Lib. iv. cap. 5*; and from *S. Augustine*, *Serm. 272. 332.* we may conclude that the simple words, as in the Clementine Liturgy, were

HERFORD.

Patri Filium: obsecrantes ut peccata quæ ex carne et sanguine contraximus caro mundet, sanguis lavet Unigeniti Filii tui Domini nostri Jesu Christi. Qui tecum vivit.⁶⁷

Tunc inclinet se supra calicem, et valde devote percipiat corpus Christi, sed ante perceptionem dicat:

Rom.

Postea dextera se signans cum Hostia super Patenam, dicit:

CORPUS Domini nostri Jesu Christi sit animæ meæ remedium in vitam æternam. Amen.

CORPUS Domini nostri Jesu Christi custodiat animam meam in vitam æternam. Amen.

Sumit reverenter ambas partes Hostiæ, jungit manus, et quiescit aliquantulum in meditatione

said: “Corpus Christi:” to which was answered “Amen.” Many forms of later ages, in delivering both the Body and the Blood to the people, may be seen collected in *Georgius. tom. iii. lib. iv. cap. xix.* Several again in the various Orders printed by *Martene*, in his first volume: *de Aut. Ritibus. Micrologus* gives this: “Corpus et sanguis Domini nostri Jesu Christi proficiat tibi in vitam æternam.” *Cap. 23.*

⁶⁹ (*sumat*) i. e. standing. The Popes were accustomed to receive the Eucharist sitting: but it would seem that now they stand, as other Bishops do, and do not resume their seat until after the rite is finished of washing the hands. See *Angelo Rocca. “De solemni Communione Summi Pontificis.” Opera. tom. i. p. 10.* It is not out of place to add briefly that this author appears to doubt, that the Bishops of Rome ever received sitting. “Dicitur Summus Pontifex sedere, dum communicat; vel quia ipse antiquitus in communicando sedebat, vel quasi sedentis instar communicabat, sicut præsens in tempus fieri solet. Summus namque Pontifex ad solium stans, non sedens, ad majorem venerationem repræsentandam, ipsi tamen solio, populo universo spectante, innixus et incurvus, quasi sedens communicat, Christum Dominum cruci affixum, in eaque quodam modo reclinantem repræsentans.” *P. 20.* We cannot read these last words without pain and sorrow: such gestures for such an end, surely sprung not from that reverence which men ought to feel.

SARUM.

*cruce prius facta cum
ipso corpore ante os.*

BANGOR.

*cerdos intime
meditari de in-
carnatione, ca-
ritate, passi-
one, et de di-
ra morte Jesu
Christi, quas
pro nobis pas-
sus est et eti-
am voluntarie
sustinuit. Et
sic cum timo-
re et reveren-
tia magna cor-
pus Christi et
sanguinem su-
mat : cruce de
ipso corpore
prius facta an-
te os ejus reci-
pientis.*

EBOR.

*Deinde ad sanguinem cum magna devo-
tione dicens :*

AVE in æternum cœlestis potus, mihi ante omnia et super omnia summa dulcedo. Corpus et sanguis Domini nostri Jesu Christi prosint mihi peccatori ad remedium sempiternum in vitam æternam. Amen. In nomine **†** Patris, etc.

SANGUIS Domini nostri Jesu Christi conservet me in vitam æternam. Amen.

CORPUS et sanguis Domini nostri Jesu Christi : custodiat corpus meum et animam meam in vitam æternam. Amen.

*Hic sumat sanguinem : Hic sumat to-
quo sumpto⁷⁰ inclinet tum sanguin-*

⁷⁰ If any were to be communicated during the Mass, this was the time appointed : as it is still directed in the *Ritus celebrandi Missam*. “ Si qui

HERFORD.

ROM.

sanctissimi Sacramenti. Deinde discooperit Calicem, genuflectit, colligit fragmenta, si quæ sint, extergit Patenam super Calicem, interim dicens :

QUID retribuam Domino pro omnibus, quæ retrahuit mihi? Calicem salutaris accipiam, et nomen Domini invocabo. Laudans invocabo Dominum, et ab inimicis meis salvus ero.

Ante perceptionem sanguinis dicat :

Accipit Calicem manu dextera, et eo se signans, dicit :

SANGUIS Domini nostri Iesu Christi conservet animam meam in vitam æternam. Amen.

SANGUIS Domini nostri Iesu Christi custodiat animam meam in vitam æternam. Amen.

Sumit totum Sanguinem cum particula. Quo sumpto, si qui

sint communicandi in Missa, sacerdos post sumptionem sanguinis, antequam se purificet, facta genuflexione, ponat particulas, &c.” Tit. x. 6. The

SARUM.

*se sacerdos, et dicat cum
devotione orationem se-
quentem :*

BANGOR

*em : quo sum-
pto et calice al-
tari superposi-*

EBOR.

Rubrieæ Generales of the modern Paris Missal are particular on one point.

“ Si qui sint sacram Communionem accepturi, Sacerdos non eos differat post Missæ finem sine necessitate. Ordo enim postulat, ut Communio populi fiat intra Missam, et immediate sequatur Communionem Sacerdotis.” Cap. x.

Upon the mode of receiving, I need scarcely remind the reader of the famous passage in S. Cyril, *Cateeh. Mystag.* v. cap. xxij.: and according to the same feelings the Church has always insisted upon outward gestures of reverence and awe; not merely by way of decency as on less solemn occasions, but here as of actual necessity. As S. Augustine declares: “ *nemo Carnem illam manducat, nisi prius adoraverit.*” *Enar. in Ps. xcviij. 5.* I shall only add a passage from S. Chrysostom, as cited and translated in *Ashwell's Gestus Eucharisticus.* *Oxf. 12mo. 1663. p. 44.* (in which the reader will find this subject well considered.) “ *This Body the wise men revered, even when it lay in the Manger, and approaching thereto, worshipped with great fear and trembling. Let us therefore, who are citizens of Heaven imitate at least these Barbarians.—But thou seest this Body not in the Manger, but on the Altar: not held by a woman, but presented by the Priest.—Let us therefore stir up ourselves, and shew far greater reverence than those Barbarians, lest by our careless and rude coming, we heap fire on our heads.*” *Homil. xxiv.* Cf. also *Ashwell*, p. 46. and p. 120. And in *Lactantius de morte persec.* the vision of S. Perpetua: cited by *Gerbert*, tom. i. p. 125. “ *Ego accepi junctis manibus.*”

How long the custom continued of receiving the Eucharist into the hands, and permission also to carry it home, is most uncertain. There is a Canon of the Council of Toledo; a. d. 400. “ *Si quis, acceptam a Sacerdote Eucharistiam, non sumpserit, veluti sacrilegus repellatur.*” But this is directed against the heresy of the Priscillianists. It seems certain that the old form was first given up at Rome, before the age of S. Gregory the Great: and that for some long time after it was still retained in other Churches. *Mabillon* tells us of a certain Abbess, S. Odilia, into whose hands not only the Body, but the Cup, was delivered in the 8th Century. *Præfut. in Sæc. III. Benedict.* p. i. *Observat. x. Georgius, tom. iii. p. 174.* from whom I quote the above, cites also S. Cæsar. Arelatensis, who proves that men and women received differently. “ *Viri enim, quando ad altare accessuri sunt, lavant manus suas, et omnes mulieres nitida exhibent linteamina ubi Corpus Christi accipiant.*” See, almost word for word, S. *Augustine*, Sermon. 152. (cit. *Casalius*. p. 91.) There is an express canon, in the year 578: “ *Ne liceat mulieri nuda manu Eucharistiam accipere.*” *Concil. Autisiodor.* And another Canon of the same council orders that, “ *Unaquæque mulier, (quando communicat) dominicalem suam habeat.*” As to what this dominicale was, *Baronius*, *Mabillon*, and many others, suppose it to be the same as the *linteamina* above: but *Stephen Baluze* says

HERFORD.

Rom.

sunt communicandi, eos communicet, antequam se purifiet.
Postea dicit:

it was a covering for the head, resting his opinion upon a Council of Angers: “Si mulier communicans dominicale suum super caput suum non habuerit, usque ad alium diem non communicet.” One thing is clear, that then women were not permitted to receive with uncovered hands. To return to men: in the year 680, Bede records the death of Cædmon, a monk; a layman. Feeling himself dying, “Interrogavit, si eucharistiam intus haberent.—Rursus ille; ‘et tamen,’ ait, ‘afferte mihi eucharistiam.’ Qua accepta in manu, interrogavit, si omnes placidum erga se animum haberent, &c.” *Hist. Eccles.* lib. iv. cap. 24.

Very anciently there seems to have been great difference of practice as to the administration of the Cup by Deacons. *Martene. de Ant. Rit.* lib. i. c. iv. brings many examples by which he proves that it was not only allowed but general: and there is the well known complaint of S. Lawrence to Pope Sixtus: “Quo sacerdos sancte sine diacono properas? nunquid degenerem me probasti? experire, utrum idoneum Magistrum elegeris, cui commisisti Dominici Sanguinis dispensationem.” As *Merati* remarks upon *Gavantus.* tom. i. p. 230, citing this: S. Lawrence says not the Body, but the Blood: and this, as if it were an especial part of the Office of Deacons. On the other hand, we have S. Chrysostom, Hom. 46. in Matt. declaring that none but a Priest can administer the Cup: and the xvth Canon of the 2nd Council of Arles, decreeing, that when a Priest is present, a Deacon may not administer “the Body of the Lord:” which seems still further to limit the Canon of the Council of Nice, viz. that Deacons should not to Priests “give the Body of Christ.” The xvith of the Canons of *Ælfric* allows Deacons to “baptize children, and housel the people:” which, if there should be any doubt, is fully explained in the Pastoral Epistle of the same *Ælfric*: “the deacon may give the bread, and baptize children.” *Thorpe. Ancient Laws and Institutes.* vol. ii. 349. 379.

But this Canon of the Council of Nice may be reconciled with the others, by remembering that by it, Deacons were forbidden to distribute to *Priests* only: and in this case, there would be conveyed a tacit permission that they might to the Laity. There seems to be no ground for supposing that the Nicene Fathers intended in any way to oppose the custom of the first and Apostolic age, when, as S. Justin tells us, (Apolog. ii.) the Deacons conveyed the Eucharist to the absent and the sick. The 38th Canon of the 4th Council of Carthage A.D. 252. is very much to the point. “Præsente Presbytero, Diaconus Eucharistiam Corporis Christi populo, si necessitas cogat, jussus eroget.” And with this *Lyndcwood* agrees, in his Gloss upon the text, *Diaconi baptizare non præsumant, nisi &c.* “In casu necessitatis, absente Presbytero, potest Diaconus suo jure baptizare, et Corpus Christi erogare infirmis: sed in Ecclesia præsente presbytero, non potest, etiamsi necessitas exigat, nisi jussus a presbytero, puta, cum multi sint qui indigent Baptismo, et presbyter non potest omniibus sufficere. Similiter, si multi

SARUM.

BANGOR.

EBOR.

*to, inclinans se
sacerdos cum
magna venera-
tione in medio
altaris et cru-
cem respiciens
dicat hanc ora-
tionem sequen-
tem.*

GRATIAS tibi ago, Domine, sancte
Pater, omnipotens aeterne Deus:
qui me refecisti de sacratissimo corpore
et sanguine Filii tui Domini nostri Iesu
Christi: et precor, ut hoc sacramentum
salutis nostræ quod sumpsi indignus
peccator, non veniat mihi ad judicium
neque ad condemnationem pro meritis
meis: sed ad profectum corporis et ani-
mæ in vitam aeternam. Amen.

volunt accipere Corpus Christi, nec presbyter sufficit omnibus." Lib. iii.
tit. 24. *Baptisterium habeatur.* So that in all these cases, an express com-
mand from the Priest was thought necessary, that Deacons might not pre-
sume and attempt even perhaps to consecrate: as may be inferred from the
25th cap. of the Council of Laodicea, cited by *Cassander, Opera*, p. 73.
"Non oportet Diacono panem dare, nec Calicem benedicere." One word
upon the address of S. Laurence to Pope Sixtus cited above. I would re-
mind the reader that in the text of the Benedictine Edition of S. Ambrose,
upon whose authority the tradition mainly rests, the reading is not *dispensa-
tionem*, but *consecrationem*. *De Off.* lib. i. 41. tom. ii p. 55. If this latter is
correct, it can only be understood in a very extended sense. See above.
Note 11. p. 86.

There seems to have crept in an abuse in England, about the xijth Cen-
tury, which is thus described and forbidden in the Constitutions of Walter
Cantilupe, Bishop of Worcester. "Audivimus autem quidem, quod merito
credimus reprobandum, quod quidam sacerdotes parochianos suos, cum
communicant, offerre compellunt: propter quod simul communicant, et
offerunt, per quod venalis exponi videtur corporis et sanguinis Christi hos-
tia pretiosa: hoc, quod execrabile sit, nullus ambigit sanæ mentis: hoc igi-
tur avaritiae horrendum vitium, interdicimus et excramus." *Wilkins. Concilia.* tom. i. p. 671.

And here, without entering into the question of whether the integrity of
the Sacrament is affected by the circumstance of no one, but the officiating
Priest, communicating: I cannot pass on without reminding the reader,

HEREFORD.

ROM.

that as a fact none is so undeniable, none rests upon greater authorities than this, that in the first ages all who were present at the Service, except those under discipline, partook of the Communion: the prayers alone of the Liturgies, even had we no other evidence, abundantly testify, that they were drawn up on the supposition of the presence of many, and of many communicants. *Micrologus* in the xith Century says: “Sciendum est, juxta antiquos Patres, quod *soli communicantes* divinis Mysteriis interesse consueverunt.” *Cap. 51.* Cardinal Bona not only admits this, adding “Hanc consuetudinem diu persitisse evidens est,” but goes on to speak of some churches at Rome, where the Priest is not permitted to communicate alone: the whole passage is of great importance. “In Missa solemni retenta est ab aliquibus Ecclesiis communio ministrorum, quæ Romæ nunc permanet in insignioribus Basilicis, et ubi desierat, Apostolicæ visitationis Decreto restituta est. Sapientissimo sane consilio, ne in desuetudinem abeat *anti-quissimus Ecclesiæ ritus, sine quo vix possunt intelligi, quæ in liturgicis orationibus quotidie recitantur.*” *Rerum. Liturg.* lib. ii. cap. xvii. 2. *Van Espen* speaks to the same purpose, and advises that Parish Priests should warn their people that they would communicate them only during the Service: and again, “Ulterius populo exponendum, quod ipsa Communio sive participatio Sacramenti partem quodam modo Sacrificii constitutat: ideoque summopere conveniens esse, ut dum una cum Sacerdote Sacrificium offerant, etiam una de Sacrificio sacramentaliter communicando participant” *Ius. Ecc. Universum.* Pars. ii. sect. i. tit. v.

SARUM.

BANGOR.

EBOR.

Qua dicta eat sacerdos ad dexterum cornu altaris cum calice inter manus, digitis adhuc conjunctis sicut prius : et accedit subdiaconus et effundat in calicem vinum et aquam :⁷¹ et resinceret⁷² sacerdos manus suas ne aliquæ reliquæ corporis vel sanguinis remaneant, in digitis vel in calice.

Post primam ablutionem vel effusionem, dicitur hæc oratio :

Hic lavet sacerdos digitos suos in concavitate calicis, cum vino infuso a subdiacono vel alio ministro : quo hausto, dicat sacerdos :

QUOD ore sumpsimus,⁷³ Domine, pura mente capiamus : et de munere temporali fiat nobis remedium sempiternum. (in vitam æternam. Amen. *Ebor.*)

Hic lavet digitos in concavitate calicis cum vino infuso a subdiacono, quo hausto, sequatur Oratio :

Hic etiam subdiaconus vel alius minister infundat vi- num vel aquam in ca-

Post primam ablutionem dicitur hæc oratio :

Sumat hic calicem, et ponat super patenam, et postea inclinando se dicat :

⁷¹ The reader will observe a difference here in the English Uses, and again between them and the Roman : which last appoints wine for the first ablution, which rather is called, the purification. Many of the ancient Ritualists speak of wine : and Durand of an ablution “ missa finita,” which was then to be thrown away into some clean place : probably the Piscina. “ In locum mundum et honestum.” *Lib. iv. cap. 55.*

Whatever we may think of the old rubrics of the English Liturgies, this must at least be undeniable : that every proper care should be taken that no remnants of the consecrated Elements be left behind after the conclusion of the Service, but that the whole be decently and with the greatest reverence consumed, according to the strict order of our present Liturgy.

⁷² “ Loke pater noster thou be sayande,
I whils tho priste is rynsande :

HERFORD.

ROM.

*Postquam communicaverit eam
ad dextrum cornu altaris cum
calice, et abluat eum cum vino,
dicendo :*

QUOD ore sumpsimus, Domine, pura mente capiamus : et
de munere temporali fiat nobis remedium sempiternum.
(in vitam aeternam. Amen. *Herford.*)

*Deinde abluat digitos suos su-
pra calicem cum vino vel aqua,
dicendo :*

When tho priste has rinsyng done,
Upon thi fete thou stonde up sone :
Then tho clerke flyttis ys boke,
Agayne to tho south auter noke :
Tho priste turnes til his seruyce,
And saies forth more of his office.” *Museum MS.*

⁷³ “ *Postquam omnes communicaverunt, dicit : Quod ore sumpsimus, &c.* ”
Micrologus, cap. xxiii. Compare what the same ancient writer says in another place : “ *Postquam omnes communicaverint dicit sacerdos hanc orationem sub silentio, Quod ore sumpsimus. Qua finita sequitur oratio sive orationes post communionem dicendae.* ” Cap. 19. Many forms of prayer after receiving are in the collections of *Martene : de ant. Ecc. rit.* tom. i. 212, &c.

*SARUM.**BANGOR.**EBOR.*

*licem : quo
hausto, sequa-
tur hæc ora-
tio :*

HEC nos communio, Domine, (Domine, communio, *Ebor.*)
purget a crimine : et cœlestis remedii faciat esse consortes.
(Per Christum. *Ebor.* Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.
Bangor.)

*Finita oratio-
ne: eat sacer-
dos in medio
altaris, ibidem
calicem super
patenam ja-
centem dimit-
tens: et se cum
magna venera-*

*Post perceptionem ab-
lutionum ponat sacer-
dos calicem super pate-
nam: ut si quid rema-
neat stillet; et postea
inclinando se dicat: Domini:*

ADORAMUS (Adoremus. *Bangor*)
crucis signaculum, per quod salu-
tis sumpsimus sacramentum.

⁷⁴ (*Quem potavi*. Herf. and Rom.) This prayer was necessarily altered, after the Cup was denied to all except the officiating Priest. Anciently it was in the plural number : and occurs in the old Gothic Liturgy ; “ *Corpus tuum, Domine, quod accipimus (accipimus?) et calicem tuum (calix tuus?) quein potavimus, &c.* ” *Thom. Missale Gothicum*, p. 392. It is in the singular, however, in the ancient Missal edited by Flaccus Illyricus : but that

HERFORD.

Rom.

HÆC nos communio, Domine, purget a crimine: et cœlestis remedii faciat esse consortes. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

Tunc abluat cum aqua, et redeat ad medium altaris cum illa ablutione, et ibi sumat eam et iterum dicat:

Interim porrigit Calicem ministro, qui infundit in eo parum vini, quo se purificat: deinde prosequitur:

CORPUS tuum, Domine, quod sumpsi, et calix, (Sanguis, Rom.) quem potavi,⁷⁴ adhærent semper (adhæreat, Rom.) visceribus meis:

et præsta, ut in me non remaneat macula peccati, in quem pura et sancta introierunt sacramenta corporis et sanguinis tui. Qui vivis et regnas.

et præsta, ut in me non remaneat scelerum macula, quem pura et sancta refecerunt Sacramenta. Qui vivis et regnas in sœcula sœculorum. Amen.

scarcely can prove much, as it seems allowed, that that famous blunder (as regarded the purpose of its first editor) is rather to be considered as a manual of prayers which might be used by the officiating Priest, mixed up in no exact arrangement, with the much more ancient Roman Sacramentary. In it, besides, the Cup is appointed to be given also to the assistant Clergy: though there appears to be some doubt as to the people.

SARUM.

Deinde laltet manus :⁷⁵ diaconus interim corporalia complicit.⁷⁶ Ablutis manibus et redeunte sacerdote ad dexterum cornu altaris : diaconus calicem porrigit ori sacerdotis, si quid infusionis in eo remanserit resumendum. Postea vero dicat cum suis ministris communionem.⁷⁷

BANGOR.

Tunc cum ista oratione eat sacerdos ad dextrum cornu altaris, et abluat manus. Post perceptiōnem sacra-menti sacer-dote ad manus abluendas re-niente, diaconus corporalia complicit : et in loculo ponat. Postea vero ip-sa corporalia, cum offertorio vel sudario, calici supponat. Ablutis mani-bus revertat se ad dexterum cornu altaris, et dicat una cum ministris suis communionem.

EBOR.

Deinde facto signo crucis in facie vertat se sacerdos ad populum : elevatisque ali-

⁷⁵ “ Cardinal Wolsey officiated at S. Paul’s, where, it seems, some of the principal nobility gave him the basin to wash at high Mass. He is charged with intolerable pride, for suffering persons of the first quality to do this office : however, the matter is capable of a fairer construction than is generally put upon it. For the holding the basin at high mass may rather be supposed a ministration in religion, and an honour to God Almighty, than any respect to the Cardinal : and if the ceremony was thus paid, why might it not be received under the same consideration ? ” *Collier. Ecc. Hist. vol. ii. 18.*

⁷⁶ (*Corporalia complicit*) “ Quod ita plicari debet, ut nec initium, nec

HERFORD.

Tunc ponat calicem jacentem super patenam, et inclinet se ad altare, et eat ad sacrarium et lavet manus suas, et in eundo dicat :

L AVABO inter innocentes manus meas : et circum-dabo altare tuum, Domine.

ROM.

Abliuit digitos, extergit, et sumit ablutionem : extergit os, et Calicem quem operit, et plicato Corporali, collocat in altari ut prius : deinde prosequitur Missam.

Deinde reversus ad altare dicat communionem.

Qua dicta signet se et verlat se ad populum et dicat :

finis appareat, sicut etiam sudarium in sepulchro Domini inventum est. Sudarium est ligamentum capitis." *Aleuin. De divinis Officiis. Bibl. Patr. Auct. tom. i. p. 282.*

⁷⁷ (*Communionem.*) This was an Antiphon, or verse taken from a Psalm, which varied with the day: and was sung whilst the people communicated. See *Gerbert. tom. i. p. 458.* S. Augustine speaks of it, in his own time at Carthage: " Ut hymni ad altare dicarentur de Psalmorum libro, sive ante oblationem, sive cum distribueretur populo quod fuisset oblatum." *Retract. lib. ii. cap. xj.* On the practice of the old Gallic Church, see *Maillyon. De Lit. Gallic. lib. i. 5. 27.*

SARUM.

BANGOR.

EBOR.

*quantulum brachiis et junctis manibus
dicat :*

DOMINUS vobis-
cum.

DOMI-
NUS
vobiscum.

Et iterum revertens se ad altare dicat :

OREMUS.

ORE-
MUS.

*Deinde dicat postcommunionem :⁷⁸ juxta
numerum et ordinem antedictarum ora-
tionum ante epistolam. Finita ultima
postcommunione⁷⁹ factoque signo crucis
in fronte, iterum vertat se sacerdos ad
populum, et dicat :*

Dominus vobiscum.

Deinde diaconus :

Benedicamus Domi-
no.⁸⁰

*In alio vero tempore
dicitur :*

Ite, missa est.⁸¹

⁷⁸ (*Post communionem.*) A short prayer, which like the Communio, varied with the office of the day. Some antient copies of the Gregorian and Gelasian Sacramentaries prefix instead the title : “*ad complendum.*” Which is followed in the Leofric Missal. It is to this that S. Augustine alludes, when writing to Paulinus, he says “*Participato tanto sacramento, gratia-
rum actio cuncta concludit.*” It was especially intended for those who had communicated : as *Walafrid Strabo, de rebus Ecc.* cap. xxii. declares, “*eius
petitio maxime pro iis est, qui communicant.*” *Micrologus* repeats this, and in another place says, that in number they ought to correspond with the collects and secret prayers before the Preface. See also *Radulph. Tungr.* prop. 23. “*ante ipsas communicare non negligunt, quicunque earundem
orationum benedictione soveri desiderant.*” *De Canonum observantia.*

⁷⁹ During Lent in the old English Missals, a prayer was appointed to be said after the Post-Communion, called the “*super populum :*” and preceded by the form, “*Humiliate capita vestra Deo.*” This was very ancient, as may be seen by an examination of Cardinal Thomasius’ edition of the Gelasian Sacramentary : and was for a long time said during the whole year : but afterwards was restricted to the season of Lent, that the people might during their discipline, be the better fortified by the prayers and benedictions of the Church, against the malice of the Devil. As *Amalarius* says, the intention was : “*Si omni tempore necesse est paratum esse bellicosum,*

HERFORD.

ROM.

DOMINUS vobiscum.

Et dicat postcommunionem.

Et ad finem orationis jungat manus, et eat ad medium altaris dicendo :

PER Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum Filium tuum. Qui tecum vivit.

Iterum signet se et vertat ad populum et dicat :

Dominus vobiscum.

Antequam revertatur dicat, Ite: in revertendo dicat, missa est.

In missis quando non dicitur, Gloria in excelsis, dicatur :

Benedicamus Domino.

Dicto, post ultimam orationem,

Dominus vobiscum.

R. Et cum spiritu tuo.

dicit, pro Missæ qualitate, vel

Ite missa est, vel

Benedicamus Domino.

R. Deo gratias.

adversus insidias sive impetus inimicorum: quanto magis in procinctu? Quadragesimali tempore scit adversarius noster a sancta Ecclesia singulare certamen commissum esse contra se.—Vult sacerdos noster ut nostris armis vestiti simus: propterea jubet per ministrum, ut humiliemus capita nostra Deo, et ita tandem infundit super milites protectionem benedictionis suæ.” *Lib. iii. cap. 37.* Compare *Micrologus. cap. 51.* These prayers are still retained in the Roman Missal.

⁸⁰ (*Benedicamus Domino.*) The reason why sometimes this form, and sometimes the “*Ite missa est :*” was used, seems to be, that upon the lesser festivals, only the more religious and spiritually disposed would make a practice of being present, who were not to be so suddenly, as it were, dismissed, but rather were to give thanks to God. Upon the greater feasts, a large number of people of all occupations would probably attend, and to these the “*Ite missa est*” would be a license to depart. See *Micrologus. cap. 46.*

⁸¹ “ Then when thou heris say ite,
Or benedicamus if hit be :
Then is tho messe al done,
Bot yit this prayere thou make right sone :
Aftir hit wele thou may,
In gods name wende thi way.” *Museum MS.*

SARUM.

BANGOR.

EBOR.

Quotiescumque enim dicitur, Ite missa est: semper dicitur ad populum convertendo.⁸²

Et cum dici debeat, Benedicamus Domino: convertendo ad altare dicitur.⁸³

His dictis, sacerdos inclinato corpore, junctisque manibus, tacita voce coram altari in medio dicat hanc orationem:

Sacerdos hic inclinato corpore junctisque manibus, tacita voce in medio altaris dicat hanc orationem.

PLACEAT tibi,⁸⁴ sancta Trinitas, obsequium servitutis meæ, et præsta: ut hoc sacrificium quod oculis Majestatis tuæ (tuæ Majestatis, *Ebor.* et *Bangor.*) indignus obtuli, tibi sit (sit tibi, *Ebor.*) acceptabile: mihi et omnibus pro quibus illud obtuli, sit, te miserante, propitiabile. Qui vivis et regnas. (Deus. Per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen. *Sar.* et *Bangor.*)

Qua finita erigat se sacerdos, signans se in facie sua, dicens :

IN nomine Patris,

etc.

IN nomine

Patris, et

Filii, et Spiriti

⁸² This turning of the Deacon towards the people or towards the altar, if “*Benedicamus*” was said, is noticed by many of the ancient ritualists: *Micrologus*. cap. 46. “*Cum Ite, Missa est*, dicimus, ad populum vertimur, quem discedere iubemus; cum autem, *Benedicamus Domino*, non ad populum sed ad altare, id est, ad Dominum vertimur, nosque ipsos non ad discedendum, sed ad benedicendum Domino adhortamur.” So also, *Durandus*: *lib. iv. cap. 57.* *Belethus*. cap. 49. &c. In some Churches of France, *Le Brun* says, that the Deacon turned towards the North, but why, he knows not.

⁸³ *Micrologus* gives us also, (and writing in the eleventh Century he is the first author who notices it) the rule which governed the saying either of the one form or the other. “*Semper autem cum Gloria in excelsis, etiam, Te Deum, et, Ite Missa est, recitamus.*” Cap. 46. That is, upon the Lord’s

HERFORD.

ROM.

*Tunc inclinet se cum junctis
manibus ad altare, dicens:*

*Dicto Ite missa est, vel Bene-
dicamus Domino, Sacerdos in-
clinat se ante medium altaris,
et manibus junctis super illud,
dicit:*

PLACEAT tibi, sancta Trinitas, obsequium servitutis meæ, et
præsta: ut (hoc, *Herford*) sacrificium, quod oculis tuae Ma-
jestatis indignus obtuli, tibi sit acceptabile: mihique et omnibus
pro quibus illud obtuli, sit, te miserante, propitiabile. (Qui vivis.
Herford. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen. *Rom.*)

Et osculetur altare.

*Deinde osculatur altare: et ele-
vatis oculis, extendens, elevans,
et jungens manus, caputque
Cruci inclinans, dicit:*

BENEDICAT vos omnipro-
tens Deus.

Et versus ad populum, semel

day, and Greater Festivals.

“Ad Missas de *Requiem* quod attinet, Stephanus Augustodunensis ex 600. jam annis nos monuit loco *Ite Missa est*, dici *Requiescant in pace*.—Non ergo populum per *Ite Missa est* dimitti congrueret, cum fere Missam sepultura, precesque consequantur, quæ sane persuadere adstantibus debent, ut ne recedant.” *Le Brun.* i. 323. *Vide. Belethus.* cap. 49.

⁶⁴ Although the Ordines Romani do not mention this prayer, it is nevertheless very ancient, and occurs in the MS. edited by Illyricus, in many others of equal date, and is noticed by Micrologus. The reason why the old Ordines omit it, possibly is, because in fact the Service is already over, having concluded with the “*Ite, Missa est.*” So in many MSS. it is headed *post Missam*, and Micrologus says: “*Finita Missa, dicit, Placeat tibi, Sancta Trinitas.*” *Cap. 23.*

SARUM.

BANGOR.

EBOR.

tus sancti. A-
men.

Et sic inclinatione facta, eo ordine, quo prius accesserunt ad altare in principio missæ, sic induiti cum ceroferariis et cæteris ministris redeant. Sacerdos vero in redeundo dicat Evangelium :⁸⁵ In principio.⁸⁶

⁸⁵ This Lection was the first 14 verses of the 1st Chapter of the Gospel according to S. John. It is said that in the Use of the Church of Rome, it was not obligatory, until the last revision, after the Council of Trent: but the rubrics of the Bangor and Sarum Missals do not seem to leave a discretion. In some of the Churches of France, it is still said, not at the Altar, but as in England anciently in returning to the Sacristy: in others standing at the entrance to it: and again, in some, in the Sacristy. In many of the Monastic Uses the saying of this Gospel has not been at any time admitted at all.

The directions when this Gospel is to be omitted according to the modern Roman Liturgy, and another read in its stead, are given in the *Rubr. Gen. xiiij. 2.*

⁸⁶ “ *Cum vero sacerdos exuerit casulam et alia indumenta sacerdotalia, dicat psalmos subscriptos: cum antiph. Trium puerorum. ps. Benedicite sacerdotes: usque ad finem cantici. ps. Laudate Dominum in sanctis ejus: totus psalmus. Nunc dimittis servum: cum Gloria Patri. et sicut erat. Deinde dicitur tota antiph. Trium puerorum cantemus hymnum, quem cantabant in camino ignis benedicentes Dominum. Kyrie eleyson. Christe eleyson. Kyrie eleyson. Pater noster. Et ne nos. Sed libera nos. Benedicamus Patrem, et Filium, cum sancto Spiritu. Laudemus et superexalteamus eum saecula. Benedictus es Domine in firmamento cœli. Et laudabilis et glorirosus in saecula.*

Benedicat et custodiat nos sancta Trinitas. Amen. Non intres in iudicium cum servo tuo, Domine. Quia non justificabitur in conspectu tuo omnis vivens. Domine Deus virtutum converte nos. Et ostende faciem tuam et salvi erimus. Domine exaudi orationem meam. Et clamor meus ad te veniat. Dominus vobiscum. Et cum spiritu tuo. Oremus.

Oratio.

Dens, qui tribus pueris mitigasti flamas ignium, concede propitius, ut

HERFORD.

*Dum deponit vestimenta sua,
vel in eundo ab altari usque ad
vestibulum, dicat ant: Trium
Puerorum.*

ROM.

*tantum benedicens, prosequitur:
Pater, et Filius  et Spiritus
sanctus. R. Amen.*

*Deinde in cornu Evangelii,
dicto, Dominus vobiscum, et
Initium, vel Sequentia sancti
Evangelii, signans altare, vel
librum, et se, legit Evangelium
secundum Joannem, In prin-
cipio erat Verbum. vel aliud
Evang. ut dictum est in Rubri-
cis generalibus. Cum dicit, Et
Verbum caro factum est, Genu-
flectit: In fine, R. Deo gratias.*

nos famulos tuos non exurat flamma vitiorum.

Oratio. Ure igne sancti Spiritus renes nostros et cor nostrum, Domine: ut tibi casto corpore serviamus, et mundo corde placeamus.

Oratio. Actiones nostras quæsumus, Domine, aspirando præveni et adjuvando prosequere: ut cuncta nostra operatio et a te semper incipiat, et per te copta finiatur. *Et finiantur hæ tres orationes sic: Per Christum
Dominum nostrum. Amen.* Sar. Miss. Edit. 1492.

With the above agrees in the main, the Bangor Use. The York, has also nearly the same verses and responses, with one collect only, viz. “Deus, qui tribus:” and headed ¶ *Orationes post missam communes.* The Hereford appoints similar verses and responses, and the prayer, “Deus, qui tribus,” followed by “*alia oratio.*”

“ Protector in te sperantium Deus, sine quo nihil est validum, nihil sanctum: multiplica super nos misericordiam tuam, ut te rectore, te duce, sic transeamus per bona temporalia, ut non amittamus æterna. Per.”

On the same page, immediately preceding the Canon, in the Salisbury Missal of 1492, upon which is the “*oratio dicenda ante missam,*” which I have already given, (Note 1. p. 1) is the following, “*Oratio dicenda post Missam.* Omnipotens sempiterne Deus Jesu Christe Domine, esto propitius peccatis meis, per assumptionem corporis et sanguinis tui. Tu enim loquens dixisti: qui manducat meam carnem et bibit meum sanguinem, in me manet et ego in eo, ideo te supplex deprecor: ut in me cor mundum crees, et spiritum rectum in visceribus meis innoves, et spiritu principali me confirmare digneris, atque ab omnibus insidiis diaboli ac vitiis emundes: ut gaudiorum cœlestium merear esse particeps. Qui vivas et regnas Dens, per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.”

Many editions contain more prayers to be said at the Priest's choice both before and after the Service. These two only are so appointed in the first Edition. The Bangor and Hereford Missals do not give any: in my copy

of the York Use, a very long prayer is printed before the Ordinary, to be said before the Service, “ quam sanetus Augustinus composit:” and the following at the end of the Canon.

“ ¶ *Oratio dicenda post celebrationem missæ.* Gratias ago tibi, dulcissime Domine Jesu Christe, lux vera, salus credentium, solatium tristium, spesque cunctorum, gaudium angelorum: qui me miserum et magnum peccatorem famulum tuum hodie sacratissimo corpore et sanguine tuo pascere dignatus es. Ideo et ego miserrimus et innumerabilibus eriminibus infectus, lachrymosis precibus imploro benignissimam misericordiam tuam, et summam clementiam, ut hæc duleissima refection, summa et incomprehensibilis communio, non sit mihi judicium animæ meæ sed prosit mihi in remedium ad evacuandas omnes insidias et nequitias diabolice fraudis, ita ut nulla ejus dominetur iniquitas in corde, corpore, anima, et sensibus meis, sed tua clementia me perducat ad superna convivia angelorum, ubi tu es vera beatitudo, clara lux, sempiterna lætitia. Amen.”

F I N I S.



Additional Note.

Additional Note.

I.



AVING determined, as has been already stated in the Preface, not to give so full a body of Notes upon the Ordinary and Canon, as I had at one time proposed to myself, I still think that there are some observations which may fitly be put together in this place, and some extracts and other documents relating to the Liturgy, by way of an additional Note ; which I trust will not be found altogether without their use.

I. First then, upon the origin of the word *Missa*. Some, with Baronius, have traced it to the Hebrew ; *Missah*, which signifies an oblation : others to the Greek ; $\mu\acute{\nu}\eta\sigma\tau\varsigma$: and some few, of whom Albaspinæus is the chief authority, to the German ; *Mess*, or *Mes*. With respect to this latter derivation, a late very superficial writer, notwithstanding that it has been long exploded among the best learned in the subject, has not hesitated to state that “it can admit of no doubt.”¹ Some other derivations, not necessary to be mentioned, have been proposed : and lastly, that which, as it appears to me, Cardinal Bona has completely established to be the true one : that it is a genuine Latin word, *a mittendo* : and

¹ *Hampson*. *Medii ævi Kalendarium*. vol. ii. p. 263. This is a work useful in some points, but cannot be recommended to the Student : being written in a bigoted spirit of ignorant hostility to Catholic Truth. Much is it to be

wished that some one really learned would give us a work which the above scarcely makes more than a pretence to be. By far the best at present, is the *Chronology of History*, by Sir H. Nicolas.

derived from the usual form by which, first the Catechumens and others were dismissed, and secondly the Faithful at the conclusion of the Service: "Ite, Missa est."

For further information, I shall refer the reader to the following authorities: all of whom treat fully upon the matter, and in fact exhaust it. *Baronius*. Ann. 34. *Bellarmin*. de Missa. lib. v. cap. 1. *Bona*. *Opera*. tom. i. lib. i. cap. 1. and *Sala*'s additions to his text. *Casalius*. de Christian. Rit. cap. 9. *Cassander*. Liturgica. cap. 26. (*Opera*. p. 55.) *Durant*. de Ritibus. lib. ii. cap. 1. *Van Espen*. tom. i. p. 410. *Du Cange*. *Glossarium*: and, *Gavantus*. *Thesaurus*. tom. i. p. 7. These are works which are more easily to be obtained than are the older Ritualists, *Micrologus*, *Alcuin*, *Isidore*, *Hugo Victorinus*, &c. who agree with them: and having examined them, as well as those who hold the contrary opinion, I repeat that the question seems to be completely settled, that *Missa*, is derived "a mittendo," and the "Ite, missa est."

II. The word "Missa," especially in the most ancient writers and ecclesiastical documents, such as Monastic Statutes and decrees of Councils, does not always signify "the Liturgy," or "Office of the Holy Communion." It means sometimes the dismission from any Divine Office: sometimes the portion of the Service at which Catechumens were present, sometimes again that to which only the Faithful were admitted: also, as I have had occasion to remark before, (Note 7. p. 83.) it occasionally means "Collects," or "Lections" or even the "Hora Canonica," and in later ages, the "feast-day," as our own Christ-mas, and Michael-mas. I again refer the student to the authors before named, especially *Bona*, and *Du Cange*. There is usually little difficulty in determining whether the term is to be taken in its strict and more usual, or in its improper sense: and instances are not very abundant of its use, even in early writers, in other than its true meaning, as applied to the Liturgy.

III. As “Missa” is to be understood sometimes as other than “the Liturgy,” so the *Liturgy* had other names than *Missa*. Such, among the Greeks were *Mystagogia*, *Synaxis*, *Telete*, *Anaphora*, and *Proosphora*: and among the Latins: *Collecta*, *Dominicum*, *Agenda*, *Communio*, and *Oblatio*.

IV. I pass on to the chief kinds of Masses: and these were (1.) *Missa Solemnis*: or, that which was celebrated with the full attendance of the Priest and his Ministers, Deacon, Sub-deacon, and Acolytes: with the proper solemnities of Incensing, &c. and in short all the ceremonies which the full rubrics of the particular Church appointed. Under this head were included the *Missa Pontificia Episcopalis*, and *Abbatialis*: when a Bishop or mitred Abbot officiated, *Pontificaliter*.

(2.) *Missa Alta*: or, as it is now commonly called in England, by the members of the Roman Communion, High Mass. This is the same as the *Missa Solemnis*: and appears to have been a term chiefly in use in this Country. *Garantus* cites only from a Charter in *Rymer's Fœdera*: “usque summum Altare ad Altam Missam celebrandam accesseram.” Tom. vii. p. 139. But the term (and also *Missa magna*) occurs not unfrequently in the York and Sarum Missals.

(3.) *Missa Publica*: at which persons of either sex were permitted to attend: and was so called from that circumstance, and not from the place where it was celebrated, “quia olim” says *Garantus*, “in cryptis et abditis locis celebribatur.” These were forbidden in Monasteries, for obvious reasons. The *Missa Communis* seems to have been the same as the *Publica*.

(4.) *Missa Privata*, was celebrated by the Priest with only one attendant, and is that which is now commonly called in England, Low-Mass; or *Missa Bassa*, or *Plana*: that is, as distinguished from *Missa Alta*, or *Solemnis*: but as opposed to the *Missa Publica*, it means that, at which, whether the people were present, or not,

the Priest alone communicated. The Missa Privata must not be confounded with the *Missa Solitaria*; which last, although for a time it was not uncommon in Monasteries, was at length altogether forbidden: and was that in which a Priest consecrated and performed the Divine Service, not only privately, but without any attendant Minister.

The following examples will prove how early care was taken in England to prevent this abuse. At a Council of York, A.D. 1195, it was decreed, “*Cum inter cætera ecclesiæ sacramenta hostia salutaris præemineat, tanto impensior circa eam debet existere devotio sacerdotum, ut cum humilitate conficiatur, cum timore sumatur, cum reverentia dispensemur:—nec sine ministro literato celebretur.*”² Some centuries earlier, there are in the Anglo-Saxon Ecclesiastical Institutes, two remarkable decisions upon this point: which would appear to prove that in those days, *one* minister alone present was not sufficient. “*At such times when ye attend the gemot of bishops, have—II priests or III or as many laymen called, that they may reverently celebrate the holy mystery with you.*” Almost immediately after follows: “*Mass-priests shall not, on any account celebrate mass alone, without other men, butan oðrum mannum, that he may know whom he addresses, and who responds to him. He shall address those standing about him, and they shall respond to him. He shall bear in mind the Lord’s saying, which he said in his Gospel. He said: “there, where two or three men shall be gathered in my name, there will I be in the midst of them.”*”³

Van Espen, after some remarks for and against the validity of these Solitary Masses, says: “*Quidquid sit, hoc certum est Missas has solitarias quæ a solo Sacerdote,*

² *Wilkins. Concilia.* tom. i. p. 501. Compare also, in the same vol. p. 707. The Constitutions of Walter de Kirkham, Bishop of

Durham, “*Ad augendum vero divini, &c.*”

³ *Thorpe. Antient Laws.* vol. ii. p. 405, 407.

nemine præseente aut ministrante, pristinis seculis ignotas fuisse: privatas vero olim rariores quam hodie; hasque posterioribus seculis nimium esse multiplicatas."⁴

(5.) Of the same kind as the *Missa Privata*, were the *Missa Familiaris*, and *Peculiaris*:⁵ the *Specialis*, and *Singularis*.

(6.) The *Missa Votiva* strictly meant a Mass which the Priest said at his own option; not agreeing with the Office appointed for the day. This, of course, was subject to certain rules. But in a wider sense, those were called *Votive Masses*, which by a statute of the Church were fixed to be said at certain times; and they were so-called with respect to the Church herself, by whose devotion they had been so prescribed. Such was the "Missa pro defunctis" which was to be said upon the second day of November.

(7.) The *Missa Præsanctificatorum*, was a species of imperfect Service, in which no Consecration was made, and the Priest communicated of the Oblation which had been consecrated upon a previous day. In the Greek Church during Lent these only are allowed, except upon Saturdays and Sundays, and the Feast of the Annunciation: in the Latin Church it was limited to Good Friday.

(8.) With this the *Missa Sicca* has been often confounded: but there is an essential distinction: because this last not only was without consecration, but without communion: a mere repetition and a most objectionable one, of part only of the Service, without consecration and without communion. It was in fact almost a mockery,

⁴ *Jus. Ecc. Universum.* Pars. II. sect. i. tit. 5.

⁵ There is a Constitution of John Peecham "Sacerdotes caveant universi, ne Missarum peculiarium, seu familiarium se Celebrationi

obligerent, quo minus valeant Canonico Officio commissam sibi officiare Ecclesiam, ut tenentur." And see *Lyndwood's Gloss.* lib. iij. tit. 23. *De celeb. Miss.* *Sacerdotes caveant.*

and long before the Reformation was abolished throughout the Christian world. Durand's account of it is : “ Potest sacerdos accepta stola Epistolam et Evangelium legere, et dicere orationem Dominicam, et dare benedictionem ; quinimo si ex devotione, non ex superstitione velit totum officium missæ sine sacrificio dicere, accipiat omnes vestes sacerdotales, et missam suo ordine celebret, usque ad finem offerendæ, dimittens secreta, quæ ad sacrificium pertinent. Præfationem vero dicere potest, licet in eadem videantur Angeli invocari ad consecrationem Corporis et Sanguinis Christi. De Canone vero nihil dicat, sed orationem Dominicam non prætermittat, et quæ ibi sequuntur sub silentio dicenda non dicat : calicem et hostiam non habeat : nec de his, quæ super calicem seu eucharistiam dicuntur, vel fiunt, aliquid dicat, vel faciat. Potest etiam dicere ‘ Pax Domini sit semper etc.’ et exinde missæ officium suo ordine peragat.”⁶

There is some doubt after all, although Durand speaks thus decidedly, whether the *Missa Sicca* was at any time permitted in the Catholic Church. Quarti and Merati think that it was so : but against these are even greater ritualists, among whom are Cardinal Bona, and Benedict XIV. But there is evidence certainly that another, the same in fact, viz. the *Missa nautica* or *navalis* was at one time allowed, “ tempore navigationis, quando scilicet ob periculum effusionis non licebat celebrare.”

I have been the more particular in remarking upon this Missa, because some people ignorantly call the Office, which frequently is used in the Church of England now, consisting of the first part of our Communion Service, and ending either with a Sermon, or after the prayer for the Church Militant, a *Missa Sicca* : but,

⁶ Lib. iv. cap. i. 23.

whatever else it may be called, (and I confess I am at a loss myself for a name) we are free from the disgrace, for it has none of the characteristics of that barren service. Indeed rather, those who suffered so much as I have just mentioned, to be said on certain days, very carefully placed the limits to which we are permitted to go, short of the beginning of the solemn part of the Liturgy itself: and the Divine Providence, which has ever watched over our Church, has not suffered that Holy Service to be subject to so great a scandal.

Besides the above, there are many other kinds of Masses, the names of which may be found and a full explanation of them in *Gavantus*, *Bona*, and other writers. I have very briefly noticed the chief differences, and those which relate to the Church of England before the Reformation.

V. I shall not make any attempt at a short account of the various *Vestments*, which the Priest wore in celebrating the Divine Mysteries. A good arrangement which without repetition would give us the sum of the information which is dispersed in very numerous volumes, is still to be desired: but for this I have not space. I shall therefore now state the names only, in the order in which they were to be put on. 1. The Amice. 2. The Alb. 3. The Girdle. 4. The Maniple. 5. The Stole. 6. The Chasuble. Full information about these, as well as other Ecclesiastical Vestments, is to be collected, (without mentioning rarer works) from *Gavantus*, Cardinal *Bona*, *Durand*, *Durant*, *Du Cange*; and of modern writers, Dr. Rock's *Hierurgia*, and Mr. Pugin's *Glossary*.

But I shall extract the following from the Pontifical of the Church of Exeter, of which I have given an account in my dissertation on the Service Books.⁷

⁷ *Monumenta Ritualia*, vol. i.

“*fol. 1. Modus induendi episcopum ad solemniter celebrandum.* Primo veniat pontifex ante altare, vel alibi ubi dispositum fuerit, et prostratus breviter oret, et surgens ponat se ad cathedram et statim incipientur psalmi consueti : ‘Quam dilecta :’ cum cæteris, ut supra. Interim ministri vel domicelli caligas cum sandalis secrete extenso superiori indumento ei subministret. Deinde manutergium cum aqua ad lavandum deportent. Postea exuat cappam et induat amictum, albam, et stolam, et reliquias circa collum, ac deinceps tunicam, dehinc dalmaticam et manipulum. Et tunc sedendo chirothecas manibus imponat, et annulum pontificalem magnum, una cum uno parvo strictiori annulo ad tenendum fortius super imponat. Et sudarium retortum in manu recipiat ad faciem extergendam. Et sic sedendo post psalmos infra scriptos orationes sequentes consuetas perdicat. Et cum hora fuerit, surgat et casulam induat, et mitram capiti imponat, et baculum pastoralem in manu sua sinistra assumat, curvatura baculi ad populum conversa, cuius contrarium faciant ministri tenendo baculum vel portando. Et sic choro cantando, ‘Gloria Patri’ procedat de sacrario ad altare populum benedicendo.”

The psalms and the prayers above mentioned, follow on the reverse of the same folio. I have printed them below, from the Sarum Pontifical, together with the “Modus induendi Episcopum” at full length, from the same MS. The reader will see that it agrees exactly with the order in the Pontifical of Bishop Lacy.

There is one point in the above, valuable as it all is, especially worthy of notice : viz. that the *Maniple* is directed to be put on before the *Chasuble*. Whereas the custom of the Church of Rome, and with two exceptions all the Pontificals which *Georgius* had examined, (the most learned writer on that subject) appoint Bishops, when they officiate, to be vested with the *Maniple* last of all. And, indeed, this Exeter Pontifical expressly remarks the distinction. - “*Et sciendum quod,*”

it says, in the rubric before the prayers, “secundum usum curiae Romanæ, ultimo omnium datur et ponitur in veniendo ad altare Manipulus, in brachio sinistro, et post missam primo amoveatur juxta illud: Venientes autem venient cum exultatione, portantes manipulos suos.” The remark of *Georgius* is: “Præterea manipulum celebraturi Pontifices sumebant post cætera sacra indumenta,—sed in Pontificali tantum Prudentii Trecensis imponitur post stolam, et in Sacramentario Moy-sacensis monasterii annorum 800. post zonam. Alias Liturgiæ antiquæ omnes statuunt, manipulum sumendum post reliqua sacerdotalia indumenta. &c.”⁸ Cardinal Bona says, that anciently all priests, and not Bishops only, received the Maniple last of the Vestments:⁹ and this was rendered necessary by the peculiar shape of the Chasuble.¹⁰

VI. In the first ages of the Christian Church, when persecutions raged, and in all after times of like dangers and necessity, the Holy Communion was celebrated not only in secret places but at any hour either of the day or night, when the malice of the enemy might the more probably be escaped. Of these night-assemblies for the purpose of Communion, the “Missa in Nocte Nativitatis Domini,” was for many ages in England, as it is still in all countries of the Roman Obedience, the last remnant.

The Rubric in the Note below¹¹ states the present

⁸ De Lit. Rom. Pontificis. tom. i. p. 270.

⁹ Compare also *Hugo de Sacram.* lib. i. cap. 51. “De Favone. Ad extremum sacerdos favonem in sinistro brachio ponit, quem et manipulum et Sudarium veteres appellaverunt. &c.” This author does not especially mention the Maniple among the *Episcopal* Vestments.

See also *Amalarius*. lib. ii. cap. 5. “De introitu Episcopi ad Missam.” But *Rabanus Maurus* speaks of it as a priestly Vestment, in its modern order. *De Instit. Clericorum.* cap. 18.

¹⁰ “Cum Planeta totum corpus ambiret, &c.” Tom. ii. p. 225.

¹¹ “Missa privata saltem post Matutinum et Laudes quacunque

order of the Church of Rome:¹² and I shall proceed to cite some authorities, upon the ancient custom of the English Church.

The first from a Constitution of Archbishop Raynold, published in the Council of Oxford, A.D. 1322. “Nullus insuper Sacerdos Parochialis præsumat Missam celebrare, antequam Matutinale persolverit Officium, et Primam et Tertiam de die.”¹³ Lyndwood in his Gloss upon this, says, that the *Matutinale Officium* includes “totum illud, quod continetur in Nocturnis et in Laudibus.” And, that although this Canon is especially directed towards Parish Priests, yet that every Priest is bound at least to say Matins, before he presumes to celebrate. There are other Canons, which respect Parochial Communions, and these equally insist upon the Third Hour also being said before: because, says Lyndwood, about the Third Hour our Blessed Lord was crucified, and, the Holy Ghost descended upon the Apostles. In considering these and similar Constitutions, the reader must remember that the *Missa Parochialis* was not necessarily a *Missa Solemnis*: but that, if it

hora ab aurora usque ad meridiem
dici potest.

Missa autem Conventualis et solemnis sequenti ordine dici debet. In festis duplicibus, et semiduplicibus, in Dominicis, et infra Octavas, dicta in choro Hora tertia. In festis simplicibus, et in Feriis per annum, dicta Sexta. In Adventu, Quadragesima, Quatuor Temporibus, etiam infra Octavam Pentecostes, et Vigiliis quæ jejunantur, quamvis sint dies solemnes, Missa de Tempore debet cantari post Nonam.

Missa autem Defunctorum dici debet post Primam diei.” *Rubr.*

Generales. xv. Some few exceptions follow to these general rules. The reason why the Mass was to be said after Sext upon common days, appears to be, because it is neither a feast nor a fast, upon the one of which, after tierce, and upon the other, after the ninth hour was appointed for the Service. *Bona* says, from *Francolinus*, that antiquitatively these days were left with no fixed rule.

¹² Compare *Amalarius*. lib. iii. cap. 42. “De consueto tempore Missæ.”

¹³ *Wilkins. Concilia*. tom. ii. p. 513.

was “sine cantu” even, it would be of the nature of a private Mass, and therefore not limited by the same strict rules as were the Services of greater solemnity.¹⁴

In the Synod of Norwich, A.D. 1257, it was ordered “quod nullus sacerdos celebret, quousque Prima canonice sit completa.”¹⁵ And again, by the Constitutions of Cantilupe, Bishop of Worcester, A.D. 1240, to the same effect: but, on account of the reason which is given, I shall cite the canon at length. “Et quia, sicut accepimus, quidam capellani, ad annualia, vel ad officium beatæ virginis assumpti, interdum matutinis præpositis, aut seorsum, a choro vel ab ecclesia, per se dictis, missas celebrant immature, per campos, vel per villas postmodum discurrentes: præcipimus, ut omnes capellani, qui in una parochia commorantur, simul intersint et convenient matutinis et vesperis, et aliis horis canonicis, in ecclesiis celebrandis, et missis: et maxime de die, nisi causa rationabili fuerint impediti: nec aliquis celebret, quousque Prima fuerit canonice completa.”¹⁶

There seems no necessity upon this point to add many examples: and I shall therefore only quote two more from Monastic Statutes. The one, of the Hospital of Elsing Spital, London. This has reference also to the time before which mass should end. “Circa horam tertiam cuiuslibet diei pulsatis primitus campanis,— Missam de die, prout diei solemnitas requirit, decantent;

¹⁴ We must not forget either, that “the third Hour” admitted of some considerable variation from that which naturally and strictly was the corresponding hour of the Day. Hence, we find it laid down by *Vnu Espen*: “Insuper ut populus ad Missam Parochiale frequentandam incitetur, decretum est, ut Parochi statuta eaque populo commodiori hora Missam Parochia-

lem diebus præsertim Dominicis et festis celebrent.” *Jus. Eccles.* Pars. II. sect. i. tit. v. And he goes on to cite Councils which forbid the stated hour to be put off, or hastened, for the sake of rich neighbours; and others, directing Bells to be rung to call the people together.

¹⁵ Concilia. tom. i. p. 735.

¹⁶ Concilia. tom. i. p. 668.

ita quod hujusmodi Missa singulis diebus, circiter horam nonam, finiatur.¹⁷ The other, from the rule of the Hospital of S. John Baptist, at Nottingham. “Insuper statuimus, ut omnes fratres simul surgant ad Matutinas, ——cantatisque consequenter Prima et Tertia, celebretur missa.”¹⁸

It has always been held, that the Holy Communion should not be celebrated, unless the Office of one of the Hours had been previously recited: whether of Tierce, Sext or the Ninth Hour. So that *Lyndwood* says: “potest colligi, quod in Festo Natalis Domini celebraturus primam Missam, quae solet cantari ante Laudes, debet prius perficere Matutinas et Primam.”¹⁹ With whom agrees a more modern Ritualist. “Missa Solemnis semper dicitur post aliquam Horam, etiam in nocte Nativitatis Domini: ut Horæ Canonicae sint quasi quædam ad Missam præparatio.”²⁰

VII. Although there can be no doubt that in the first beginnings of the Christian Church, the Holy Communion was celebrated not only in such places, but at such times and opportunities as would be the most likely, in periods of violent persecution, to escape observation; and therefore, chiefly taking care not to omit it if possible upon the Lord's day, as S. Austin tells us, it was subject occasionally to longer intervals than was permitted afterwards,²¹ yet long before the age of the Coun-

¹⁷ *Dugdale.* Monast. Anglic. vol. vi. p. 706.

¹⁸ Monast. Anglic. vol. vi. p. 679. See also *Rites of the Church of Durham*. “At ix of the clocke, ther rong a bell to masse, called the Chapter masse.” P. 82.

¹⁹ Lib. iii. tit. 23. *Linteamina Corporalia*, verb. *Primam*.

²⁰ *Guvantus*. Thes. Saer. Rit. tom. i. p. 112.

I must however, before passing on to the next subject, add the following from *Piers Ploughman*.

“The kyng and hise knyghtes,
To the kirk wente,
To here matyns of the day,
And the masse after.”

Passus quintus.

²¹ I am now speaking of the prevention of communion; for there

cil of Nice, the practice of priests consecrating daily, became common in most Churches. S. Cyprian's testimony is sufficient upon this point, who says, "Episcopatus nostri honor grandis et gloria est pacem dedisse martyribus, ut sacerdotes, qui sacrificia Dei quotidie celebramus, hostias Deo et victimas præparemus."²²

This custom was not likely for many reasons to become, as time went on, less observed: and it is recorded of Alcuin, that at the request of Archbishop Boniface, he drew up Services for each day in the week; which might be used when otherwise the days would have been vacant, or have had no Proper Office. Or again, as Micrologus says: "Et hoc ideo, ut presbyteri illius temporis nuper ad fidem conversi, nondum ecclesiasticis officiis instructi, nondum etiam librorum copia præditi, vel aliquid haberent, cum quo officium suum qualibet die possent explere."²³ And in the very ancient Missal which Flaccus Illyricus edited, the Priest after the Communion is directed to say this Prayer: "Obsecro etiam te piissime omnium auxiliator, ne ad damnationem aeternam mihi proveniat, quod quotidie cum conscientia polluta, — corpus Christi Filii tui et sanguinem indignus audeo accipere." But, before the tenth Century, more than one Canon of Councils is to be found, not exactly directing, so much as strongly exhorting all Priests to celebrate daily.²⁴ I shall not however add other testimonies upon this point, except one of Bede, cited by Gabriel Biel;²⁵ and which, whatever opinion we might have as to the truth of its doctrine, and validity of its argument,

is no doubt that in the days of the Apostles, no opportunity was lost of receiving the consecrated elements: when "the multitude of them that believed were of one heart and of one soul," they continued "daily breaking bread from house to house." But the perse-

entions then had not begun.

²² Epist. 54. Ad Cornelium.

²³ Cap. ix.

²⁴ Mabillon. Annal. Benedict. Praef. iv. 36. Gavantus. tom. i. p. 21.

²⁵ Lect. 87. In Canonem.

certainly declares the reason on which, in his day, the necessity of this practice was supposed to rest. “ *Sacerdos non legitime impeditus celebrare omittens, quantum in ipso est, privat sanctissimam Trinitatem laude et gloria, Angelos lætitia, peccatores venia, justos subsidio et gratia, in purgatorio existentes refrigerio, Ecclesiam speciali Christi beneficio, et seipsum medicina et remedio.*”

There is no proof that in the Church of England, the practice of daily consecrating the Holy Eucharist, or even of the daily communion of the Clergy, was enforced by any Council, or rested upon other obligation than individual piety, or the statutes of some deceased benefactor. In the Council of Cloveshoo, A.D. 747, it was decreed, Canon XIV. “ *Ut dominicus dies legitima veneratione a cunctis celebretur, sitque divino tantum cultui dedicatus, omnes abbates ac presbyteri isto sacratissimo die in suis monasteriis atque ecclesiis maneant, missarumque solennia agant.*” And the end of the same canon extends the like obligation, in nearly as strong terms, to the people. “ *Hoc quoque decernitur, quod eo die sive per alias festivitates majores, populus per sacerdotes Dei ad ecclesiam sæpius invitatus, ad audiendum verbum Dei conveniat: missarumque sacramentis, ac doctrinæ sermonibus frequentius adsit.*”²⁶

More than five hundred years after, we find no other order than the following: I quote from Lyndwood, on account of his Gloss upon it. “ *Statuimus insuper, ut quilibet Sacerdos, quem Canonica necessitas non excusat, conficiat omni Hebdomada, saltem semel.*”²⁷

Upon the *Canonica necessitas* Lyndwood observes that such would be, if the Priest were suspended, or excommunicate, or in mortal sin: or, if he could not obtain access to a consecrated place: “ *nam in loco non sacrato,*

²⁶ Wilkins. *Concilia.* tom. i. p. 96.

²⁷ *Lib. iii. Tit. 23. Altissimus.*

non est celebrandum sine licentia Episcopi." Or, if he has not the sacred Vestments: or even, "quia non habet Stolam et Manipulum." Or, if he has not an assistant: "et breviter, in omni casu ubi non potest habere requisita ad Missæ celebrationem, et confectionem Eucharistiae, præsertim ea quæ sunt de materia hujus Sacramenti." Upon the words *saltem semel*, his Gloss is. "Et hoc fiat die Dominica, si fieri poterit, juxta illud *Aug.* 'Quotidie Eucharistiam communionem accipere nec laudo, nec vitupero: omnibus tamen Dominicis diebus ad communicandum hortor.' Et ista Constitutio facta est ad invitandum Presbyteros frequentius celebrare, qui forsan vix quater in anno consueverunt celebrare."²⁸

VIII. The great stress which was laid for some Centuries, upon the necessity of every Priest celebrating the Holy Service once every day, led, more especially (when men began to suppose that the benefits of the Communion might be purchased for money) for many reasons which will naturally occur to the reader, to a great abuse. And this was; that priests consecrated more than once, and indeed many times, upon the same day. That this, in some instances, was the result of a mistaken piety and devotion only, unmixed with any baser motive, we cannot doubt, from the fact which Walafrid Strabo records, that Pope Leo the Third sometimes celebrated

²⁸ He goes on to speak of another case: "Et hic nota, quod licet quidam dicant Sacerdotem non peccare, qui dimittit celebrationem Missæ, nisi habeat populum sibi commissum, vel ex obedientia tenetur celebrare: tamen quia, ut *Grego.* dicit, cum crescent dona, rationes crescent donorum. Ideo cum Sacerdoti sit data potestas nobilissima, reus est negligentia nisi

utatur ea ad honorem Dei et salutem animæ suæ, et aliorum vivorum et mortuorum: secundum illud, 1. Petri. 4. *Unusquisque, sicut accepit gratiam, alterutrum illam administret.* &c.—Sacerdos enim tenetur Deo Sacrificium reddere, licet nulli homini teneatur. Sacerdotibus enim præceptum est, *Hoc facite in meam commemorationem.*"

nine times in one day. “Fidelium relatione virorum in nostram usque pervenit notitiam, Leonem Papam (sicut ipse fatebatur) una die vij. vel ix. Missarum solemnia saepius celebrasse.”²⁹

But, in England, measures were very early taken to check (at least) the excess into which this practice, so very objectionable, was running. The 55th of the Excerpts of Archbishop Egbert, a contemporary of the Venerable Bede, declares : “Et sufficit sacerdoti unam missam in una die celebrare, quia Christus semel passus est, et totum mundum redemit.”³⁰ The 37th of the Canons enacted under K. Edgar, enjoins : “That no priest, on one day, celebrate mass oftener than thrice, at the very utmost.”³¹ The 18th of the Laws of the Northumbrian priests, is to the same purpose : “If a priest in one day celebrate mass oftener than thrice, let him pay xij ores.”³² In almost the same words as in Egbert’s Excerpts, Ælfric speaks in his Pastoral Epistle : “It is much that Mass may be celebrated once in one day, though it be not celebrated oftener.”³³ These bring us nearly to the period of the Norman Conquest, up to which time we find no more than repeated attempts to check (as I have said) the evil which existed: but soon after that event, there were very frequent orders, and more determinate, made in the Provincial and Diocesan Synods. Take the second Canon of the Council of London, A. D. 1200. “Non liceat presbytero bis in die celebrare, nisi necessitate urgente; et tunc idem cum in die bis celebrat, post primam celebrationem, et sanguinis sumptionem nil

²⁹ *De Rebus Eccles.* cap. 21. But it has been said that this was owing to the multitude whom he was desirous to communicate: and for all of whom he wished himself to celebrate. See *Fleury. Hist. Eccl.* tom. x. p. 158.

³⁰ *Wilkins. Concilia.* tom. i. p. 104.

³¹ *Thorpe. Ancient Laws, &c.* vol. ii. p. 253.

³² *Ibid. vol. ii. p. 293.*

³³ *Ibid. vol. ii. p. 377.*

infundatur calici."³⁴ These cases of necessity seem explained more fully, a few years later, in a Provincial Constitution of Archbishop Langton. "Bis in die celebrare nullus præsumat, nisi in diebus nativitatis et resurrectionis dominicæ : et quando corpus in propria ecclesia fuerit tumulandum : et tunc in prima missa ablutio digitorum vel calicis a celebrante non sumatur."³⁵ The Council of Durham, A.D. 1220, makes a like order, "ne quis celebret bis in die :" with the same exceptions, or "aliqua evidens urgeat necessitas." And so also, the Council of Oxford, about the same time ; and some Synodal Constitutions (of an uncertain diocese,) A.D. 1237.³⁶ In the year 1230, one of the Articles of Enquiry for the archdeacons of the diocese of Lincoln, asks : "An aliquis sacerdos bis celebret in die, nisi in casibus concessis, et in propria persona in propria ecclesia ?"³⁷ *Gavantus*, or rather, *Merati* in his additions states, that the first order to the effect of the above Canons, was made by Pope Alexander the Second, A.D. 1070. And the words used by Archbishop Egbert, and Ælfric, already cited, are those which are in the decree of Gratian,³⁸ which he cites.

The injunctions added to the above Canons which I have cited, that the Ablution should not be taken in the first Mass, if, for any lawful cause, the Priest was about to celebrate again, was in consequence of the strict rule which was laid down that none should consecrate except fasting :³⁹ which fast would not, upon the theory of

³⁴ *Wilkins. Concilia.* tom. i. p. 505.

³⁵ *Ibid.* tom. i. p. 531.

³⁶ *Ibid.* tom. i. p. 579. 586. 574. 657.

³⁷ *Ibid.* tom. i. p. 628.

³⁸ "Sufficit sacerdoti unam Missam in die una celebrare, quia

Christus semel passus est, et totum mundum redemit. Non modica res est unam Missam facere; et valde felix est, qui unam Missam dignam celebrare potuit." *De Consecrat. Distinct.* i. can. 53.

³⁹ *Walafrid Strabo*, cap. xix. allows that anciently there was no

the doctrine of Transubstantiation, be broken by the communion of the consecrated Cup, although of course by the subsequent ablution. Hence on the Day of the Nativity when Priests might lawfully consecrate three times, the ablution was ordered to be taken only at the third and last Mass. And to such an exactness was this to be observed, that it has been held, that if by mistake or accident, the Priest should have taken the ablution at the first of these Services, he was not then allowed to perform the other two.⁴⁰ Lyndwood says: “Ratio est, quia si faceret, non esset jejonus, et celebratio Missæ debet fieri jejuno stomacho.” And again, it has been decided, that no Priest might, under any necessity, consecrate twice upon Good Friday · because his fast would be broken, by the Host which he must take with unconsecrated Wine. In this case, the exception of two parishes or large populations, which I shall speak of presently, would not hold, because there was no obligation upon the people to attend the Service on Good Friday.⁴¹

The Constitution above, of Archbishop Langton, allows not only an exception upon the Day of the Nativity, but of the Resurrection. *Lyndwood* says. “*Resurrectionis Dominicæ*: i. e. in die Paschæ: de isto die, quod in eo possit bis celebrari, non invenio Textum

rule to this effect: “sed a sequentibus honesta et rationabili deliberatione statutum esse cognoscitur; ut omni tempore a jejunis, saer- sancta celebrentur mysteria.” *De rebus Ecclesiasticis*. Pope Benedict however denies this: “Nemo nescius est sanctos apostolos tunc jejunos non fuisse, cum Eucharistiam acceperunt, tamen ob tanti Saeramenti reverentiam ab apostolicis usque temporibus statutum fuit semperque in ecclesia observa-

tum, ne quisquam nisi jejunus Eucharistiam sumeret.” *Opera. tom. ix.* p. 328. But the Pope does not (the Canon excepted) support his dictum with any authorities. See *Bingham*, book. xv. cap. vij. And, especially, *Fell’s note upon S. Cyprian. Epist. Ixij. p. 156.*

⁴⁰ *Thom. iii. par. quæst. 80. art. 8.*

⁴¹ *Benedict XIV. Opera. tom. ix. p. 286.*

alicujus juris vel canonis. Sed istud ideo fortassis hic ordinatur, quia contingit saepius, quod in una magna Parochia nou est nisi unus Presbyter, qui commode illo die non posset in Missa solenniori de die omnes Parochianos suos communicare, et oportet quod servientes illo die ministrent et praeparent ea quae ad ipsorum servitia spectant erga adventum Dominorum suorum et Magistrorum: unde tales communicari possunt et debent in prima Missa.”⁴² There are nevertheless some examples, which may be seen in *Bona*,⁴³ of two Communions, with their full and different Services, upon Easter Day: and it is possible that in the 12th Century, some remains of these were still left in England, and not intended to be forbidden in the Archbishop’s Constitution.

But the Gloss of Lyndwood at any rate teaches us what was the practice of his own time: and that upon Easter Day no more than on other days, excepting always of the Nativity, more than one Service was not permitted to be celebrated by the same Priest. For the exception which he allows, and supposes in the Archbishop’s Constitution to be intended, does not seem to meet the case; because not only upon Easter Day, but on other great Festivals, it was always lawful for the Parish-priest, who had large populations under his charge, to celebrate for their convenience, and to meet the necessities of their case, more than once. The same was permitted, if he had two Parishes under him.⁴⁴

The cases of necessity which are spoken of in the Canons, as exceptions, are agreed generally to have been, lest a sick man should die without the Viaticum,

⁴² *Provinc.* lib. iij. tit. 23. *Ad excitandos.*

quest. 2. art. 2. *Gonzalez.* in cap. *Consulnisti de Celeb.* Missar. num. 2. *Belletus.* Disquisit. Cle-

⁴³ *Rerum Liturg.* lib. i. cap. xvij. 6.

ric. 2. 29. 3. *Cardinal de Lugo.* de Eucharist. disput. 20. 1. num. 46.

⁴⁴ *Sotus.* in 4. Sent. dist. 13.

and there was no Host consecrated : if a Bishop or Prince should arrive at a place after the Service was over : if a person was to be buried ; but this, in places only where it was always the custom not to bury but with the celebration of the Holy Communion. Lyndwood, in the same place before cited, says, that in all excepted cases, they availed only, in case no other Priest happened to be at hand : and that, upon any account whatsoever, it was not permitted to celebrate more than *twice* ; “ *quod in nullo casuum prædictorum licet ultra duas Missas celebrare, excepto die Nativitatis Domini.* ”⁴⁵

The day of the Nativity having been so often mentioned, as the only exception, I cannot think it will be out of place, to add Lyndwood’s reasons why three Services were not only permitted but ordered for that day. He does not offer them as his own, but from ancient canonists.

“ *Significat prima Missa tempus ante Legem et ideo celebratur in tenebris. Secunda significat tempus sub Lege, quo tempore incipiebat sciri Christus, sed non clare, et ideo celebratur inter diem et noctem. Tertia significat tempus Gratiæ, et cantatur in plena luce, ad designandum Christum venisse, qui est Lux vera, et illuminat omnem hominem venientem in hunc mundum.*

⁴⁵ This rule however does not appear to be strictly observed in England now, by the Priests of the Roman Communion. *Quarti*, in considering the excepted cases, says : “ *In Anglia, ubi pauci sunt Sacerdotes, potest idem Sacerdos saepius in die Sacrum facere ad satisfaciendum populo catholico :—et idem dicendum de aliis partibus hæreticorum, vel infidelium, ubi plures Catholici degunt.* ” He further decides,

that the Canons do not limit the number to two, or even three times : but that in all cases, the Priest must be fasting, and that therefore he must (it would seem at least) know that he would be required to celebrate again, before he takes the ablution. And if this be so, I do not see how in the case of communion only the necessity could arise, for he might reserve from the elements first consecrated.

Vel dic, secundum *Jo. An.* quod prima Missa significat Generationem Christi æternam quæ occulta est, et ideo celebratur in nocte. Secunda significat Nativitatem Christi, partim naturalem quia ex muliere, et partim occultam quia ex virgine: ideo celebratur in mane. Tertia significat Generationem Spiritualem, quæ fit per Gratiam, et illa celebratur in tertia, quia clarescit secundum veritatem.”⁴⁶

VIII. I shall conclude this, with some observations upon the “Cautelæ Missæ,” or, as they were called “The Cautells of the Mass.”

Scarcely was the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons commenced, and Christianity for a second time introduced into England, before the same care was insisted upon to be observed by all the Priests of the English Church, in the celebration of the Divine Mysteries, which was enforced as much as possible, in other parts of the Christian world. Whether these precautions were carried into excess or not, is not a question upon which I shall enter: it is very possible that some were; and as time went on, others were added, which were the produce only of that false reverence which accompanied necessarily the novel introduction of the doctrine of Transubstantiation. But in earlier ages, and indeed always, it would be idle uncharitableness to deny, that these “Cautells” and directions, sprung solely from a pious regard towards the great Sacrament of the Gospel: and in such a matter, concerning the highest Mysteries, concerning that Bread and Wine, that Body and Blood, it is most difficult to say, where reverence ceases to be within the bounds of a due moderation, and becomes a superstition: but it is not so difficult to say, where irreverence begins. I wish that I could add, that I think

⁴⁶ *Lib. iii. tit. 23. Ad excitandos.* Compare also, *Durand. lib. vj. cap. 13.* and *Gavantus.* tom. i. p. 374.

the Priests of the English Church now, as a body, are so reverent in their administration of the Supper of the Lord, as I do believe they really wish to be: I cannot suppose but that much that looks like carelessness is without intention: but how far neglect of the plain rubrics even of the Common Prayer Book can be excused by want of thought, is not for me to decide.

I shall begin therefore, with some extracts from the Penitential of Archbishop Theodore. His 39th Chapter is, “*de negligentia eucharistiae*,” and to each offence or accident a certain penalty is attached, proportioned to the greatness at which it was then esteemed. “*Si quis eucharistiam negligentiae causa perdiderit.*—*Si sacrificium in terra ceciderit, causa negligentiae.*—*Qui non bene custodierit sacrificium.*—*Qui autem perdiderit, et non inventum fuerit.*—*Qui neglexerit sacrificium, ut vermes in eo sint, aut colorem non habet saporemque.*—*Si ceciderit sacrificium de manibus offerentis terra tenus, et non inveniatur, omne quodcunque inventum fuerit in loco quo ceciderit comburatur igni, et cinis ejus sub altare abscondatur.* Si vero inventum fuerit sacrificium, locus scopa mundetur, et stramen igni comburatur, cinisque, ut supra dictum est, abscondatur. —*Si de calice per negligentiam aliquid stillaverit in terra, lingua lambatur, terraque radatur.*—*Si super altare stillaverit calix, sorbeat minister stillam, &c.*”—⁴⁷ Other orders, to the same effect, may be found in the same Archbishop’s Capitula.⁴⁸

In the next Century Archbishop Egbert of York, in his “*Confessionale*,” appoints a penance: “*Si Sacerdos calicem effundat postquam missam cantaverit.*”⁴⁹ In Egbert’s Penitential, we find several canons to the same effect. “*Si quis ex incuria sua eucharistiam perdiderit.*

⁴⁷ *Thorpe. Ancient Laws and Institutes.* vol. ii. p. 46.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* p. 75.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* p. 141.

—Si sacrificium ex incuria in terram ceciderit.—Si quis neglexerit consecratam eucharistiam, ita ut nimis diu servata sordes in ea sit, vel colorem suum non habeat.

—Omne sacrificium quod sordidum est, vel vetustate corruptum, comburatur.—Qui effuderit calicem suum inter missam suam.——&c.”⁵⁰

I pass on to the Canons of Ælfric. “The priest shall purely and carefully do God’s ministries: (*Læder þeuniga*) with clean hands and with clean heart; and let him see that his oblations be not old baken, nor ill seen to.—Great honours they merit who minister to God with zeal and devotion: and also it is written, that he is accursed, who doth God’s ministry with carelessness. We may by this know, that a man who has not his sight should not dare to celebrate mass, when he sees not what he offers to God, whether it be clean or foul.⁵¹ Archbishop Lanfranc in his Statutes, has one chapter, “de negligentia circa Corpus Domini.”⁵² But, lastly, to come down nearer to the date of the Cautells themselves. In the 13th Century, a Canon of the Constitutions of W. de Kirkham, Bishop of Durham, orders: “ut si per negligentiam aliquid de sanguine Christi stillaverit super terram lambatur lingua; tabula radatur, super quam stillaverit:—si autem super altare:—si super linteam:” ——&c.:⁵³ and to each of these a penalty is attached, for the carelessness owing to which it must have occurred.

It is not possible to say, by whom these “Cautelæ Missæ” were drawn up and arranged, from the decrees of Councils and the opinions of Doctors and Canonists: nor by whose authority they were introduced into the

⁵⁰ *Thorpe*. vol. ii. p. 218. *Wilkins. Concilia*. tom. i. p. 139.

⁵¹ *Thorpe*. vol. ii. p. 361.

⁵² *Opera Lanfranci*. p. 282. cap. x.

⁵³ *Wilkins. Concilia*. tom. i. p. 707.

Missal. *Gavantus* says, in his *Thesaurus*, that the earliest edition of the Roman Use in which he had seen them, was in that printed at Venice, 1557. They have since been always added to the Roman Missal, and are differently arranged from the *Cautelæ*, and headed “*De defectibus circa Missam occurrentibus.*” In the Hereford Missal, they are styled “*De casibus et periculis quæ possunt evenire circa altare.*” These differ somewhat from the Sarum: but as well as those in the present Roman Use, have the same object in view, and make very similar arrangements and rules. In the York Missal, 4to, 1517, (which has been followed in the present volume) the “*Cautelæ ad missam celebrandam,*” are placed at the end of the book, and are exactly the same as those which I am now about to give, from the Salisbury Use. In this last (the Salisbury Missal) they are to be found, in almost all editions after 1500: either in the beginning after the Calendar, or at the end of the book; and, more commonly, either before the Ordinary or after the Canon. I shall take them from an edition by *Regnault*, Paris, 1529. They will require no remark: every reader is probably as well able to judge of them as I can be, and to form his own opinion, as to the necessity, or the reasonableness, or the superstition of them: and I need make no apology to more exact enquirers into documents of this kind, who will see that they furnish much valuable matter, bearing not only upon historical and antiquarian, but, which is of far greater consequence, upon theological questions.

II.

Cautelæ Missæ.

C Sequuntur *informationes et cautelæ observandæ presbytero volenti divina celebrare.*



RIMA cautela est: ut sacerdos missam celebraturus, conscientiam suam per puram confessionem optime præparet, sacramentum vehementer desideret, et confiteri intendat.

Notulam de modo agendi officium memoriter et bene sciat. Gestus valde compositos ac devotos habeat. Cum enim quilibet teneatur Deum diligere ex toto corde, ex tota anima, et ex totis viribus suis. Hic Deum diligere non probatur, qui in mensa altaris ubi Rex regum et Dominus omnium tractatur et sumitur, irreligiosus, indevotus, impudicus, distractus, vagus, aut desidiosus apparuerit. Attendant igitur unusquisque quod ad mensam magnam sedeat. Cogitet qualiter eum præparari oporteat. Sit cautus et circumspectus. Stet erectus, non jacens in altari. Cubitos jungat lateribus. Manus exaltet, ut extremitates digitorum modicum super humeros videantur.

Intellectum signis et verbis coaptet, quoniam magna latent in signis, majora in verbis, maxima in intentione. Tres digitos jungat quibus signa faciat, reliquos duos in manu componat. Signa faciat directe non oblique, alte satis ne calicem evertat. Non circulos pro crucibus. Cum vero inclinandum erit, non oblique sed directe ante altare, toto curvatus corpore, se inclinet.

Secunda est, ut non putet, sed certo sciat se debitas materias habere, hoc est, panem triticeum, et vinum cum aqua modica. De vino et aqua sic poterit certificari.

Exigat a ministro, ut gustet tam vinum quam aquam. Ipse autem presbyter gustare non debet. Guttam fundat in manum, digito terat et odoret, sic erit certior. Non credat ampullæ signatæ, non colori; quoniam saepius fallunt. Videat calicem ne sit fractus. Consideret vinum; si est corruptum, nullo modo celebret: si acetosum, dissimulet. Si nimis aquosum, abstineat, nisi sciat vinum aquæ prævalere. Et in omni casu si contingat dubitari; vel propter acedinem, vel propter mixturam vel illimpeditatem utrum possit confici, consulimus abstinere: quia in hoc sacramento nihil sub dubio est agendum, ubi certissime est dicendum; *Hoc est enim corpus meum*, et, *Hic est enim calix sanguinis mei*. Item oblatas convenientes eligat, et vinum competenter infundat, quia hoc sacramentum debet sensibus deservire ad videndum, tangendum, et gustandum, ut sensus reficiatur ex specie, et intellectus ex re contenta foveatur. Aqua etiam in parvissima quantitate infundatur, ut a vino absorbeatur, et saporem vini recipiat. Non est enim periculum quantumcunque modicum apponatur de aqua, est autem periculum si multum. Apponitur etiam aqua solum ad significandum, sed una gutta tantum significat, quantum mille. Ideo caveat sacerdos ne cum impetu infundat, ne nimis cadat.

Tertia est, ut canonem morosius legat quam cætera. Et præcipue ab illo loco: *Qui pridie quam pateretur accepit*. Tunc enim respirans attendere debet, et se totum colligere (si prius non potuit) singulis verbis intendens. Et dum dixerit: *Accipite et manducate ex hoc omnes*; respiret et uno spiritu tractim dicat, *Hoc est enim corpus meum*: sic non immiscet se alia cogitatio. Non enim videtur esse rationabile discontinuare formam tam brevem, tam arduam, tam efficacem, cuius tota virtus dependet ab ultimo verbo, scilicet, *meum*, quod in persona Christi dicitur. Unde non debet euilibet verbo punctus imponi. Cum id nulla ratione valeat ut dicatur: *Hoc est enim, corpus meum*. Sed totum simul pro-

ferat. Pari modo hoc idem in forma consecrationis sanguinis observetur.

Item proferendo verba consecrationis circa quamlibet materiam, sacerdos semper intendat confidere id quod Christus instituit, et ecclesia facit.

Quarta est, ut si plures hostias habet consecrare, debet harum unam elevare, quam sibi deputaverat a principio ad missam; et teneat illam penes alias, ita quod visum et intentionem ad omnes simul dirigat. Et signando et dicendo: *Hoc est enim corpus meum*: omnes cogitet quas demonstrat.

Consulimus quoque ut canonem presbyter memoriter sciat, quia devotius dicitur; semper tamen liber habeatur, ut ad ipsum memoriter recurratur.

Quinta est, ut dum sumat, nunquam uno haustu calicem sumat, ne propter impetum tussis inopinatae occurrat, sed bis vel ter caute sumat ut impedimentum non habeat. Si vero plures hostias debet sumere, ut quando hostia est renovanda, primo sumat eam quam confecit et sanguinem: post hæc alias quæ supersunt. Suam prius sumat quam alias, quia de suis eredit et seit, de aliis eredit et nescit. Demum desuper ablutiones, et non prius.

Sexta est, ut paucorum nominibus se astringat in canone; nec perpetuo, sed quamdiu velit faciat, quando velit omittat, quia canon de multitudine nominum prolixatur, et per hoc cogitatio distrahitur. Dignum tamen est ut pater, mater, frater, soror ibi nominentur. Et si qui pro tempore commendantur; et specialiter pro quibus missa celebratur. Non tamen ibi fiat vocalis expressio, sed mentalis.

Septima est, ut ante missam non os vel dentes lavet; sed tantum labia exterius ore clauso si indiget, ne forte aquæ gustum, cum saliva immittat. Post missam etiam caveat excreations quantum potest, donee comederit et biberit, ne forte aliquid inter dentes remanserit, aut in fauibus, quod excreando ejiceretur. Quamvis autem missa devotissime sit celebranda contemplationis causa,

est tamen modus habendus, ne protractione vel acceleratione fiat homo notabilis. Nam acceleratio signum est incuriae. Protractio est occasio detractionis. Sed medio tutissimus ibit. Eo autem affectu est quaelibet missa habenda et dicenda a quocumque sacerdote, quasi prima dicatur et nunquam amplius sit dicenda: tam magnum enim donum, semper debet esse novum.

Habeat itaque sacerdos diligentiam ad confieendum: Reverentiam ad tangendum: Et devotionem ad sumendum. Sic sentiendo et agendo digne tractabitur sacramentum, rite peragetur officium, atque pericula et scandala evitabuntur.

Item, in collectis dicendis semper impar numerus observetur. Una propter Unitatem Deitatis. Tres propter Trinitatem Personarum. Quinque propter quinque partitam passionem Christi. Septem, propter septiformem gratiam Spiritus Sancti. Septenarium numerum excedere non licet.

Item, quandcumque oratio dirigitur solum ad Patrem, in fine dicatur. *Per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum.* Si vero dirigitur ad Patrem et mentio fit Filii in ipsa, in fine dicatur. *Per eundem Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum.* Si autem oratio dirigitur solum ad Filium, in fine dicatur: *Qui cum eodem Patre et Spiritu Sancto.* Et si mentio Spiritus Sancti in quaquam oratione fiat, in fine dicatur; *ejusdem Spiritus Sancti Deus, per omnia saecula saeculorum. Amen.*

¶ *Incipiunt cautelæ servandæ, quid agendum sit circa defectus, vel casus, qui oriri possunt in missa, et præsertim circa consecrationem eucharistie.*

Primo quid sit agendum cum sacerdos deficit.

¶ Si sacerdos deficiat sive moriatur ante canonem, non est necesse ut alius missam compleat. Si tamen alius vult celebrare, debet ab initio missam reincipere, et totum rite peragere.

Si autem in canone deficiat, factis jam aliquibus signis, tamen ante transubstantiationem et consecrationem

sacramenti, tunc alius sacerdos ab illo loco ubi ille dimisit, debet reincipere, et tantum illud supplere quod omissum est.

Si autem sacerdos in actu consecrationis deficiat, verbis aliquibus jam in parte prolatis, sed in toto non completis, secundum Innocentium, alius sacerdos debet incipere ab illo loco, *Qui pridie*.

Si tamen sacerdos deficiat consecrato corpore, sed non sanguine, alius sacerdos compleat consecrationem sanguinis, incipiens ab illo loco, *Simili modo*. Si consecrato corpore, percipiat vinum non esse in calice, debet hostia munde reponi in corporali, et calice rite præparato, incipiat ab illo loco, *Simili modo*.

Si ante consecrationem sanguinis, percipiat aquam non esse in calice, debet statim apponere, et conficere.

Si autem post consecrationem sanguinis, percipiat quod aqua desit in calice, debet nihilominus procedere, nec debet miscere aquam cum sanguine, quia pro parte sequeretur corruptio sacramenti: debet tamen sacerdos dolere et puniri.

Si post consecrationem sanguinis percipiat quod vinum non fuerit positum, sed aqua tantum in calice, siquidem hoc percipit ante sumptionem corporis, debet aquam depонere et imponere vinum cum aqua, et resumere consecrationem sanguinis ab illo loco, *Simili modo*.

Si percipiat hoc post sumptionem corporis, debet apponere de novo aliam hostiam, iterum cum sanguine consecrandam, secundum doctores in sacra pagina, debet autem resumere verba consecrationis ab illo loco, *Qui pridie*. In fine autem iterum debet sumere hostiam illam ultimo consecratam, non obstante si prius sumpsit aquam et etiam illum sanguinem. Innocentius tamen dicit quod si ex prolongatione sacerdos timet scandalum, quod sufficient tantum illa verba per quæ consecratur sanguis, scilicet *Simili modo*, et sic sumere sanguinem.

Quid autem faciet cum aquam, sumpto corpore, jam

habet in ore, et jam primo sentit quod sit aqua ; utrum debeat eam deglutire vel emittere. Require in summa Hostiensis in titulo de celebr. missæ. Tutius tamen est eam deglutire quam emittere ; et hoc ideo ne aliqua particula corporis cum aqua exeat.

Item si sacerdos post consecrationem recordetur se non esse jejenum, vel commisisse aliquod peccatum, vel esse excommunicatum : debet nihilominus procedere, cum proposito satisfaciendi, et absolutionem impetrandi.

Si autem ante consecrationem recordetur prædictorum, tutius est missam inceptam deserere et absolutionem petere, nisi inde grave scandalum oriatur.

Item si musca vel aranea vel aliquid talium ante consecrationem in calicem ceciderit, vel etiam venenum immissum fore deprehenderit, vinum debet effundi quod est in calice, et abluto calice aliud vinum cum aqua ponit ad consecrandum. Sed si aliquid horum post consecrationem acciderit, debet musca vel aranea vel aliquid talium caute capi, et diligenter inter digitos pluries lavari ; et vermis comburi, et ablutio cum cineribus combustis in sacrario reponi. Venenum autem nullo modo debet sumi, sed cum reliquiis debet sanguis talis cui venenum est immissum in vasculo mundo reservari. Et ne sacramentum maneat imperfectum, debet calicem denuo rite præparare, et resumere consecrationem sanguinis ab illo loco, *Simili modo*. Et nota quod secundum doctores, nihil abominabile sumi debet occasione hujus sacramenti.

Item si sacerdos non recolit se dixisse aliquod horum quæ debuit dicere, non debet mente turbari ; non enim qui multa dicit, semper recolit quæ dixit. Etiam si sibi pro certo constat quod aliqua omiserit, si talia non sunt de necessitate sacramenti, sicut sunt secretæ, vel aliqua verba canonis, ultra procedat, nec aliquid resumat. Si tamen probabiliter sibi constat quod omisit aliquid, quod sit de necessitate sacramenti, sicut forma verborum per quam consecratur, omnia verba consecrationis super

suam materiam resumere debet, quia consecratio facta non esset. Quod tamen non oportet si prætermissa esset conjunctio *enim* vel alia verba quæ præcedunt vel sequuntur formam; quæ non sunt de ipsius substantia.

Si autem sacerdos dubitaret an aliquod verbum pertinens ad substantiam formæ omisisset vel non, nullatenus debet servare formam conditionalem; sed sine temeraria assertione formam totam super suam propriam materiam debet resumere, cum hac intentione: quod si consecratio esset facta, nullo modo voluisse consecrare; sed si consecratio non esset facta, vellet corpus et sanguinem consecrare.

Item si quis tempore consecrationis, ab actuali intentione et devotione distractus fuerit, nihilominus consecrat; dummodo intentio habitualis in eo remanserit; Summo Sacerdote, scilicet Christo, supplente ejus defectum.

Si autem per nimiam distractionem habitualis intentio cum actuali tolleretur, videtur quod deberet verba consecrationis cum actuali intentione resumere, sic tamen quod nollet consecrare, si consecratio facta esset.

Item si hostia consecrata propter frigus, vel alia de causa, labitur sacerdoti in calicem, sive ante divisionem hostiæ, sive post; non debet eam de sanguine extrahere, nec aliquid propter hoc reiterare, vel immutare circa celebrationem sacramenti; sed procedat in signis et in aliis, ac si haberet eam in manibus.

Si eucharistia ad terram ceciderit, locus ubi jacuit radatur, et incineretur per ignem, et cinis juxta altare recondatur.

¶ Item si per negligentiam aliquid de sanguine stillaverit, super tabulam quæ terræ adhæret, stilla per sacerdotem cum lingua lambatur, et locus tabulæ radatur, et rasura igni comburatur, et cinis juxta altare cum reliquiis recondatur, et quadraginta diebus pœnitentia cui hoc accidit.

Si vero super altare stillaverit calix, sorbeatur stilla, et tribus diebus pœniteat.

Si vero super linteum et ad aliud stilla pervenerit, quatuor diebus pœniteat. Si usque ad tertium, novem diebus pœniteat. Si usque ad quartum stilla sanguinis pervenerit, viginti diebus pœniteat, et linteamina quæ stilla tetigerit tribus vicibus lavet sacerdos, vel diaconus, calice supposito, et ablutio cum reliquiis recondatur.

Item si quis aliquo casu gulæ eucharistiam evomuerit, vomitus ille debet incinerari, et cineres juxta altare debent recondi. Et si fuerit clericus, monachus, presbyter, vel diaconus, quadraginta diebus pœniteat, episcopus septuaginta, laicus triginta.

Si vero ex infirmitate evomuerit, quinque diebus pœniteat.

Qui vero non bene custodit sacramentum, ita quod mus vel aliud animal comederit, quadraginta diebus pœniteat.

Qui autem perdiderit illud, vel pars ejus ceciderit et non fuerit inventa, triginta diebus pœniteat. Eadem pœnitentia videtur dignus sacerdos, per cuius negligenciam putrescunt hostiæ consecratæ. Dictis autem diebus pœnitens debet jejunare, et a communione, et a celebratione abstinere. Pensatis tamen circumstantiis delicti et personæ, potest minui vel augeri pœnitentia prædicta, secundum arbitrium discreti confessoris. Hoc autem tenendum est, quod ubique inveniuntur species sacramenti integræ, reverenter sumendæ sunt: quod si sine periculo fieri non potest, sunt tamen pro reliquiis reservandæ.

Item si hostia, vel pars hostiæ inventa fuerit sub palla vel corporali, et dubitatur si est consecrata vel non, debet eam post sumptionem sanguinis reverenter sumere, ut in titulo de celebratione missarum plenius invenies.

Item circa materiam sanguinis vide ne sit agresta, vel vinum ita debile, quod nullo modo habeat speciem vini.

Ne sit aqua rubea expressa de panno intineto in vino rubeo. Ne sit acetum, vel vinum omnino corruptum; ne sit claretum, vel vinum de moris aut malogranatis confectum; quia veram speciem vini non retinent.

Conficiens cum vino quod est in via corruptionis, vel ad corruptionem tendens, gravissime peccat (licet conficiat) quoniam non retinet speciem vini.

Item cavendum est, ne apponatur nisi modicum de aqua, quia si tantum poneretur quod speciem vini tolleret, non conficeretur.

Item si qua hic desunt, requirantur in summa et lectura Hostien. in titulo de celebr. missarum.

III.

De modo exequendi Officium Dominica prima in Adventu, ad Missam: et de Officijs singulorum Ministerorum.⁵⁴



OMINICA prima in Adventu, peracta processione, dum Tertia cantatur, executor officii et sui ministri ad missam dicendam se induant, et si episcopus fuerit, tres habeat diaconos et totidem subdiaconos ad minus, sicut in omni festo novem lectionum, quando ipse exequitur officium. In die vero Pentecostes, et in die Cœnæ, septem diaconos et septem subdiaconos et tres acolytos. In aliis vero duplicibus, quinque tantum. Die vero Parasceve, unum solum diaconum, et unum solum subdiaconum.

Cantata vero Tertia et officio missæ inchoato, dum post officium “Gloria patri” inchoatur, executor officii cum suis ministris ordinate presbyterium intrent, et ad altare accedant: diacono et subdiacono casulis indutis, manus tamen ad modum sacerdotis extra casulam non tenentibus. Cæteris ministris in albis existentibus; quibus vero temporibus, diaconi et subdiaconi casulis, dalmaticis, et tunicis, et albis uti debeant, in Ordinali plene describitur. Ad gradum autem altaris sacerdos ipse confessionem dicat: diacono ei assistente a dextris, subdiacono a sinistris: et sciendum quod quisque sacerdos officium exequatur, semper episcopus si præsens fuerit ad gradum altaris, “Confiteor” dicat. Dicta vero abso-

⁵⁴ From the *Consuetudinarium* of Sarum, in the MS. “Registrum S. Osmundi,” fol. xv. Preserved among the Muniments of the Bishop

of Salisbury: and of which I have given some account at the end of the Dissertation on Service books, *Monumenta Ritualia*. vol. i.

lutione, sacerdos diaconum deosculetur ; deinde subdiaconum : quod semper observatur, nisi missa pro fidelibus fuerit dicenda, et exceptis tribus ultimis diebus in Passione Domini. His peractis, ceroferarii candelabra cum cereis ad gradum altaris demittant. Post humiliationem vero sacerdotis ad altare factam, ipsum altare sacerdos thurifheet, diaconi ministerio : deinde ab ipso diacono ipse sacerdos thurifheetur ; et postea textum ministerio subdiaconi deosculetur. His peractis, in dextro cornu altaris, cum diacono et subdiacono, officium Missæ usque ad orationem prosequatur, sive usque ad "Gloria in excelsis," quando "Gloria in excelsis" dicitur. Quo facto sacerdos, cum suis ministris, in sedibus ad hoc paratis se recipient, usque ad orationem dicendam, vel in alio tempore, usque ad "Gloria in excelsis" incipiendum. Dum vero sacerdos ad officium exequendum stat ad altare, Diaconus post eum stet in primo gradu ante altare : deinde subdiaconus ordinate, ita quod quoties sacerdos ad populum se convertit, diaconus similiter se convertat : subdiacono interim ipsi sacerdoti de casula aptanda subministrante. Sciendum autem quod quicquid a sacerdote dicitur ante epistolam, in dextro cornu altaris expletur. Similiter post perceptionem sacramenti : cætera omnia in medio altaris fiunt. Post introitum vero missæ, unus ceroferariorum panem, et vinum, et aquam, in pixide et phiolis solemniter ad locum ubi panis, vinum, et aqua, ad eucharistiae ministrationem disponuntur, deferat. Reliquus vero ceroferarius pelves cum aqua et manutergio. Incepta vero ultima oratione ante epistolam, casula interim deposita, subdiaconus per medium chori ad legendam epistolam ad pulpitum accedat, et dum epistola legitur, duo pueri in superpelliciis facta inclinatione ad altare ad gradum chori, in pulpito ipso se ad cantandum gradale præparent. Interim etiam veniant duo ceroferarii obviam acolyto ad ostium presbyterii, cum veneratione ipsum calicem ad locum prædictæ administrationis deferenti, offertorio et corporalibus ipsi calici

superpositis: est autem acolytus in albis, et mantello serico, ad hoc parato. Calice itaque in loco debito reposito, corporalia ipse acolytus super altare solemniter deponat, ipsum altare in recessu deosculando. Quo facto ceroferarii candelabra cum cereis, ad gradum altaris demittant. Lecta epistola, subdiaconus panem et vinum, post manuum ablutionem, ad eucharistiae ministracionem in loco ipsius administrationis præparet ministerio acolyti. Dum gradale canitur, duo de superiore gradu ad cantandum "Alleluia" cappis sericis se induant, et ad pulpitum accedant. Dicto vero gradali, pueri cantores ad gradum altaris inclinaturi redeant. Post quoque epistolam unus ceroferariorum cum aliquo puer de choro aquilam in pulpito ad legendum evangelium ornando præparet. Dum "Alleluia" canitur, diaconus prius ablutis manibus, casula humerum sinistrum modo stolæ succinctus, corporalia super altare disponat. Dum prosa canitur, diaconus ipse altare thurificet; deinde ad commonitionem puerorum ministrantium a choro ad ministeria sua redientium, accepto texto Evangeliorum et data ei humiliato a sacerdote benedictione, cum ceroferariis et thuribulo præcedente, subdiacono librum lectionis evangelicæ deferente per medium chori, ad pulpitum accedat. Textum ipsum super sinistram manum solemniter gestando: et cum ad locum legendi pervenerit, textum ipsum subdiaconus accipiat; et a sinistris ipsius diaconi, ipsum dum Evangelium legitur teneat. Et lecto evangelio, ipsum deosculandum, ipsi diacono porrigat a dextra parte ipsius. In redeundo tamen, textum ipsum ad altare ex directo pectore deferat. Post inceptionem "Credo in unum," sacerdos ipse ministerio diaconi thurificetur, et postea, ministerio subdiaconi, textum deosculetur. Quo peracto, chorus, ministerio pueri, more solito incensetur, sequente subdiacono textum deosculandum singulis eo ordine quo incensantur porrigente. His perfectis, acolyto ministrante subdiacono, subdiacono ipsi diacono, sacerdos prius hostiam super patenam, deinde

calicem a manu diaconi accipiat. Diacono manum ipsius sacerdotis, utraque vice, deosculante. Postea ordinato sacrificio et debito modo deposito sacerdos sacrificium, ministerio diaconi, ter in signum crucis thurifecet; deinde ter in circuitu; postea ex utraque parte sacrificii. Quo peracto sacerdos manus abluat, ministerio subdiaconi et aliorum ministrorum. Diacono interim ipsum altare in sinistro cornu incensante, et reliquias, more solito, in circuitu. Acedente autem sacerdote ad divinum obsequium exequendum, diaconus et subdiaconus suis gradibus ordinate se teneant. Et si episcopus celebraverit, omnes diaconi in eodem gradu diaconorum consistant: principali diacono medium locum inter eos obtinente. Simili modo subdiaconi in gradu subdiaconorum se habeant. Cæteris omnibus diaconis et subdiaconis gestum principalis diaconi, et principalis subdiaconi imitantibus. Excepto quod principalis subdiaconus sacerdoti ad populum convertenti solus ministret. Sacerdote vero "Per omnia sæcula" incipiente, subdiaconus offertorium et patenam a manu diaconi accipiat, et ipsam tenendam, quousque oratio Dominica dicatur, acolyto offertorio coopertam committat in gradu post subdiaconum interim constituto. Sciendum autem quod pueri ministrantes, dum secretum missæ tractatur, in choro moram faciunt exteriorem locum primæ formæ tenentes, quousque sacerdos, cancellatis manibus, ad altare se inclinet. Tunc enim ad altare accedunt ad ministrandum diacono in manuum ablutione cum subdiacono. Sacerdote vero Corpore Domini calicem in modum crucis signante, diaconus ei a dextris assistat, eique in corporalibus sustinendis subministret. Inchoata vero oratione Dominica, diaconus patenam a manu subdiaconi recipiat, et post dictam orationem Dominicam eam sacerdoti porrigit: post tertium "Per Omnia" si episcopus celebraverit, diaconus ad populum conversus, baculum episcopi in dextra tenens, curvatura baculi ad se conversa, dicat "Humiliate vos ad benedictionem." Deinde episcopus,

eucharistia interim super patenam reposita, super populum faciat benedictionem. Ad “Agnus Dei” dicendum, ascendat diaconus et subdiaconus ad sacerdotem uterque a dextris; diaconus propior, subdiaconus remotior. Pacem vero diaconus a sacerdote accipiat: deinde primo subdiaconum; deinde ad gradum chori rectorem ex parte decani; dehinc alium ex parte cantoris, osculetur: qui duo pacem choro reportent, incipientes a decano et cantore, vel ab his qui stallis eorum stant proximiores. Post perceptionem sacramenti, sacerdote ad manus abluendas veniente, diaconus corporalia complicet et in loculo reponat. Postea vero ipsa corporalia calici cum offertorio superponat; ipsumque calicem, dum post communio dicitur, ipsi acolyto committat, qui dum “Per omnia” dicitur post orationem, ea solemnitate qua eum apportavit reportet. Post “Benedicamus” dictum a diacono, iterum casula induito, ad populum converso, et post inclinationem a se factam, sacerdos cum suis ministris, modo quo accessit, abscedat.

Vitalis presbyter,⁵⁵ vicarius perpetuus de Suning, præsentavit capellatum, quem secum habet, nomine Simonem, quem modo retinuit usque ad festum B. Michaelis. Requisitus idem Simon de suis ordinibus; dicit, quod

⁵⁵ These examinations of illiterate Priests, in the early part of the thirteenth Century, viz. A.D. 1222, are taken from the same MS. the “Registrum S. Osmundi:” fol. xljj. and are written in a contemporary hand, probably being the authentic record at the time. Certainly they have little else to do with my present subject, beyond the Canon

being made the test of a competent knowledge: but they are extremely curious; and valuable as shewing the discipline which was maintained, even in those disturbed days. Some other examinations I have omitted, in which the candidates were declared to be sufficiently learned.

apud Oxoniām recepit ordinem subdiaconi, a quodam episcopo Yberniāe, Albino nomine, tunc vicario episcopi Lincolnensis. Item ab eodem recepit ordinem diaconi. Item ordinem presbyteratus ab Hugone modo Lincolnensi episcopo: transactis quatuor annis. Probatus fuit de evangelio Dominicāe primāe in adventu et inventus est minus habens, nec intelligens quod legeret. Item probatus fuit de canone missæ: “Te igitur, clementissime Pater” *etc.* Nescivit cujus casus esset “Te” nec a qua parte regeretur. Et cum dictum esset ei, ut diligenter inspiceret quæ pars posset competentius regere “Te,” dixit, quod Pater, qui omnia regit. Requisitus quid esset “clementissime,” vel cujus casus, vel qualiter declinaretur; nescivit. Requisitus quid esset “Clemens;” nescivit. Item idem Simon nullam differentiam antiphonarum novit, nec cantum hymnorum, nec etiam de illo, “Nocte surgentes:” nec aliquid scit de Officio Divino, vel Psalterio cordetenus. Dixit etiam, quod indecens ei videbatur quod probaretur coram decano, cum jam esset ordinatus. Requisitus super quo fuisse probatus quando ordinem presbyteratus accepit: dicit quod non meminit. Sufficienter illiteratus est.

Johannes de Herst præsentavit capellānum suum Ricardum nomine, natum apud Rosam. Juvenis quidem est, et nihil scit. Dicit quod ordinem subdiaconi recepit London. a Willielmo episcopo. Ab episcopo Petro, Winton. ordinem diaconi, transactis sex annis: a Willielmo vero episcopo Cestrensi eodem anno ordinem presbyteratus. Probatus de hac collecta Adventus: “Excita quæsumus Domine;” dixit quod nihil voluit respondere. Requisitus de canone, dixit, quod nihil voluit super hoc respondere. Postquam enim suus Presbyter primo exierat ab ecclesia post examinationem, et venisset ad alios, omnes inierunt consilium unum quod non responderent. Aliqui tamen eorum in articulo responderunt postea ad magnam instantiam decani. Pos-

tea requisitus noluit in ultimo capitulo examinari, et remansit suspensus.

Johannes de Erburge præsentavit capellatum Reginaldum, natum apud Windelshoram. Ordinatus sicut ipse dicit, ad ordinem subdiaconi apud Sarum. Diaconi vero et presbyt. apud Winton. transactis jam *iiij* annis. Probatus de hac oratione “Excita,” *etc.* et de hoc textu canonis, “Te igitur, clementissime Pater;” nihil prorsus voluit respondere. Postea venit et obtulit se examinationi et nihil scivit, vel legere vel canere.

Capellanus de Sandhurst Johannes de Sireburñ. dicit quod ordinatus fuit subdiaconum apud Cicestriam. Diaconum apud Winton. ab episcopo Godefrido, in Ybernia: et jam ministravit in prædicta capella per *iiij* annos. Probatus de hac oratione, “Excita,” *etc.* et de “Te igitur,” nihil seit respondere. Probatus de cantu, de offertorio dominicæ adventus, scilicet: “Ad te levavi;” nescivit cantare.

Item Vitalis Presbyter præsentavit ad capellam de Rotiscamp Jordanum Presbyterum, natum apud Stratton in Dorset. Ordinatus ut dicit subdiaconum et diaconum apud Sarum ab episcopo Heriberto. Presbyterum autem ab episcopo Roffensi Gilberto de Glanvill. ante generale interdictum. Probatus ut alii supra, de oratione, “Excita,” et “Te igitur;” nihil seit. Proposito ei libro ut cantaret, noluit cantare. Præceptum est Vitali, ut bonos capellanos inveniat et ibi et apud Sunning; vel decanus capiet beneficia in manus suas.

Item apud Erberge fuit quidam veteranus in domo Ricardi Bulloc, presbyter quidam de Rading; et cum probaretur a decano, utrum videret et utrum verba integra proferret, inventum est quod nullum verbum evangelii vel canonis integrum potuit proferre. Et ideo præcepit decanus Johanni de Erburge ne ulterius permetteret eum ministrare in capella illa.

IV.

Orationes pro rege in missis dicendae.⁵⁶

Sequuntur orationes in missis dicendæ, pro bono felici
ac prospero statu Christianissimi atque excellentissimi
regis nostri Henrici octavi.

QUÆSUMUS omnipotens et misericors Deus,
ut rex noster Henricus octavus, qui, tua
miseratione, regni suscepit gubernacula vir-
tutum omnium percipiat incrementa: quibus
decenter ornatus vitiorum voraginem devitare, corporis
incolumitate gaudere, hostes superare, et in tranquilla
pace dum in humanis aget tam feliciter possit sua tem-
pora pertransire, ut post hujus vite decursum, ad te qui
via, veritas, et vita es, gratiosus valeat pervenire. Per.

Secreta.

Munera, quæsumus Domine, oblata sanctifica, ut nobis
Unigeniti tui corpus et sanguis fiant, et famulo tuo Hen-
rico octavo regi nostro ad obtainendum animæ corporisque
salutem: et ad peragendum in firma fide et solida pace
in junctum sibi officium, te largiente, usquequaque pro-
ficiat. Per.

Postcommunio.

Hæc, quæsumus Domine, salutaris sacramenti percep-
tio famulum tuum Henricum octavum regem nostrum
ab omnibus tueatur adversis, quatenus diuturnam et
prosperam vitam in tranquillitate ecclesiastice pacis
obtineat: et post hujus vite decursum ad aeternam bea-
titudinem, tua gratia cooperante, perveniat. Per.

⁵⁶ From "Missale ad Usum Sa-
rum: Paris. 8vo. Petit. 1516." This
Mass occurs in various editions,
and some of much earlier date:
thus we find it, occasionally, "pro
bono statu regis nostri Henrici sep-

timi." I have not thought it an
unnecessary addition, remembering
that our present Liturgy contains
special prayers for the reigning
Sovereign.

V.

Modus induendi Pontificem.⁵⁷

MODUS induendi pontificem ad solemniter celebrandum: primo veniat pontifex ante altare, vel alibi, ubi dispositum fuerit: et prostratus breviter oret. Et surgens ponet se ad cathedram, et statim incipiuntur psalmi consueti: "Quam dilecta" &c. ut infra. Interim ministri vel domicelli caligas cum sandalis secrete extenso superiori indumento ei subministrent. Deinde manutergium cum aqua ad lavandum deportent. Postea exuat cappam et induat amictum, albam, et stolam: et reliquias circa collum, ac deinceps tunicam, dehinc dalmaticam, et manipulum. Et tunc consedendo chirothecas manibus imponat, et annulum pontificalem magnum, una cum uno parvo strictiori annulo ad tenendum fortius superimponat. Et sudarium retortum in manu recipiat, ad faciem extergendam. Et sic sedendo post psalmos infra scriptos orationes sequentes consuetas perdicat. Et cum hora fuerit, surgat et casulam induat, et mitram capiti imponat, et baculum pastoralem in manu sua sinistra assumat, curvatura baculi ad populum conversa, cuius contrarium faciant ministri tenendo baculum vel portando. Et sic, choro canente "Gloria Patri" vel alias officium incipiente, procedat de sacrario ad altare populum benedicendo. Et veniens ante altare, deposita mitra, dicat confessionem. Qua dicta, reponatur mitra usque ad principium primæ collectæ de die, ita quod salutando populum ante principalem orationem dicat versus populum: "Pax vobis." Et deponatur mitra dum dicitur

⁵⁷ From the MS. Pontifical "ad usum Sarum," in the Library of the University of Cambridge. (Mm. 3. 21. Folio. fol. xi.)

collecta, et post collectam, dicto “Jesum Christum Filium tuum,” ad hæc verba, “Qui tecum,” reponatur mitra usque ad evangelium, et tunc amoveatur, recepto baculo, usque inceperit “Credo in unum.” Et tunc utatur mitra usque postquam verterit se ad populum, dicendo “Orate fratres.” Et hoc dicto conversus ad altare, removeat minister mitram et ponat eam super cornu altaris, quasi stando, quoisque fiat benedictio super populum: missam quoque totam sicut cæteri sacerdotes dicat. Et post “per omnia” ante pacem faciat benedictionem solemnem super populum, diacono baculum in manibus tenente, et ad chorum converso, dicendo alta voce, “Humiliate vos ad benedictionem.”

Chorus respondeat. “Deo gratias.”

Et sic Eucharistia super patenam reposita, acceptaque mitra, et baculo in manu sinistra, et manu dextra super populum elevata, dicat benedictionem prout tempus exigit et requirit. Et postea remotis mitra et baculo, reversus ad altare dicat: “Et pax ejus.” Et cætera sequentia sicut alii sacerdotes, nisi quod lotis manibus reponat mitram et resumat chirothecas et annulos, et postquam se verterit ad populum, dicat: “Dominus vobiscum,” et reversus amoveatur mitra, dum dicitur postcommunio. Et iterum post orationem resumatur, ut supra in prima oratione. Et sic mitratus recedat, dicendo evangelium: “In principio,” cum psalmo, “Benedicite sacerdotes.”

VI.

**Quae sunt dicenda induendo et exuendo
episcopum.**⁵⁸

CELEBRATUR US pontifex missarum solemnia, quosdam psalmos et orationes ex institutione Celestini Papæ, primo præmittit, quos interim dum caligis et sandalis ornatur dicet secundum exhortationem psalmistæ dicentis.

Præoccupemus faciem ejus in confessione, et in psalmis jubilemus ei.

Hi quinque psalmi sunt qui dici debent. viz.

Quam dilecta tabernacula tua Domine. Ps. lxxxijj.

Benedixisti Domine terram tuam. Ps. lxxxiv.

Inclina Domine aurem tuam et exaudi me. Ps. lxxxv.

Credidi propter quod locutus sum. Ps. cxv.

De profundis elamavi. Ps. exxix.

Ant. Veni, Domine, visitare nos in pace, ut lætemur coram te corde perfecto.

Kyrie eleison. Christe eleison. Kyrie eleison.

Pater noster. Et ne nos.

Repleatur os meum laude.

Resp. Ut cantem.

Vers. Domine, averte faciem tuam a peccatis meis.

Resp. Et omnes.

Vers. Cor mundum crea in me, Domine.

Resp. Et spiritum.

Vers. Ne projicias me a facie tua.

Resp. Et spiritum.

Vers. Redde mihi lætitiam salutaris tui.

⁵⁸ From the same MS.

Resp. Et spiritum.

Vers. Sacerdotes tui induantur justitiam.

Resp. Et sancti.

Vers. Domine Deus, converte nos.

Resp. Et ostende.

Vers. Domine exaudi orationem meam.

Resp. Et clamor.

Vers. Dominus vobiscum.

Resp. Et cum spiritu tuo.

Oremus.

¶ *Oratio.* Aures tuæ pietatis, mitissime Deus, inclina precibus meis, et gratia Sancti Spiritus illumina cor meum, ut tuis mysteriis digne ministrare merear. Per Christum.

Actiones nostras, quæsumus Domine, aspirando præveni et adjuvando prosequere, ut cuncta nostra operatio a te semper incipiat, et per te cœpta finiatur.

Fac me, quæso Deus, ita justitia indui, ut in electorum tuorum merear exultatione lætari, quatenus exutus ab omnibus sordibus peccatorum consortium adipiscar tibi placentium sacerdotum, meque tua misericordia a vitiis omnibus exuat quem reatus propriæ conscientiæ gravat. Per Christum.

Caligis et sandalis impositis, pontifex priusquam sibi amictum imponat, caput peccinat, manus et faciem lavat, et dum lavit dicat episcopus hanc orationem.

¶ Largire sensibus nostris, omnipotens Pater, ut sicut hic abluuntur inquinamenta manuum, ita a te mundentur interius pollutiones mentis, et crescat semper in nobis augmentum sanctorum virtutum. Per Christum.

¶ *Ad amictum imponendum capiti suo.*

Spiritus Sanctus superveniet in me, et virtus Altissimi obumbrabit caput meum.

¶ *Ad albam.*

Miserere mei, Deus, miserere mei: et munda me a reatibus cunctis, et cum illis qui dealbaverunt stolas

suas in sanguine Agni mereamur perfrui gaudiis perpetuis.

¶ *Ad zonam.*

Præcinge me, Domine, zona justitiae, et constringe in me dilectionem Dei et proximi.

¶ *Ad stolam.*

Stola justitiae circumda, Domine, cervicem meam, et ab omni corruptione peccati purifica mentem meam.

¶ *Ad tunicam.*

Indue me, Domine, vestimento salutis, et indumento lætitiae circumda me semper.

¶ *Ad dalmaticam.*

Da mihi, Domine, sensum et vocem, ut possim cantare laudem tuam ad hanc missam.

¶ *Ad fanonem.*

Indue me, Pater clementissime, novum hominem, deposito veteri cum actibus suis, qui secundum Deum creatus est in justitia et sanctitate veritatis.

¶ *Ad casulam.*

Indue me, Domine, lorica fidei, et galea salutis, ac gladio Spiritus Sancti. Amen.

Deinde dicat episcopus antequam accedat ad altare :

Ant. Introibo ad altare. etc. ut continetur in missale.

Cum vero episcopus exuerit casulam, et alia induimenta episcopalia, dicat hos psalmos sub uno Gloria Patri, cum hac antiphona : Trium puerorum.

Ps. Benedicite sacerdotes. usque ad finem.

Ps. Laudate Dominum in sanctis.

Ps. Nunc dimittis. Gloria Patri. Sieut.

Deinde dicatur antiphona : Trium puerorum.

Sequatur : Kyrie eleison. Christe eleison. Kyrie eleison. Pater noster. Et ne nos.

Benedicamus Patrem, et Filium, cum Sancto Spiritu.

Resp. Laudemus.

Benedictus es, Domine, in firmamento cœli.

Benedicat et custodiat.

Non intres.

Domine Deus virtutum.

Domine, exaudi.

Dominus vobiscum.

Oremus.

Oratio. Deus qui tribus pueris.

Oratio. Ure igne.

Oratio. Actiones.

Et finiatur sic : Per Christum Dominum nostrum.

Amen.

VII.

Praefationes per totum Annum.⁵⁸

EQUUNTUR præfationes.

Et primo præfatio nativitatis Domini ; quæ præfatio dicitur in die nativitatis Domini ad omnes missas, et quotidie per hebdomadam, et in die Circumcisionis, et in omnibus missis de sancta Maria, ab hac die usque ad Purificationem, et etiam in die Purificationis. Dicatur etiam in festo Corporis Christi et in octava ejusdem et infra : quando de eo fit servitium. Dicitur etiam in commemoratione ejusdem. Communicantes, vero dicitur tantum usque ad Circumcisionem et in die Circumcisionis.

Æterne Deus. Quia per incarnati Verbi mysterium, nova mentis nostræ oculis lux tuæ claritatis infulsit : ut dum visibiliter Deum cognoscimus, per hunc in invisibiliū amorem rapiamur. Et ideo eum Angelis. etc.

Nota, quod infra canonem, ad primam missam in nocte nativitatis Domini, dicitur Communicantes : et noctem sacratissimam etc. Ad omnes alias missas dicitur : Diem sacratissimum, quandocunque dicitur.

Infra canonem.

Communicantes, et diem sacratissimum (*et noctem sacratissimam*) celebrantes, quo beatæ Mariæ intemerata virginitas huic mundo edidit Salvatorem : sed et memoriam venerantes, in primis ejusdem gloriosæ semper virginis Mariæ, genitricis ejusdem Dei et Domini nostri Jesu Christi, sed et beatorum apostolorum ac martyrum tuorum, Petri, et Damiani, et

⁵⁸ From "Missale ad Usum Sarum. Paris. Fol. Regnault. 1529."

omnium sanctorum tuorum, quorum meritis precibusque concedas, ut in omnibus protectionis tuæ muniamur auxilio. Per eundem Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

¶ *Sequens præfatio dicitur in die Epiphaniæ, et per octavam et in octava, et Communicantes similiter.*

Æterne Deus. Quia cum Unigenitus tuus in substantia nostræ carnis apparuit, in novam nos immortalitatis suæ lucem reparavit. Et ideo cum Angelis. etc.

Infra canonem.

Communicantes, et diem sacratissimum celebrantes, quo Unigenitus tuus in tua tecum gloria coæternus, in veritate carnis nostræ visibiliter corporalis apparuit: sed et memoriam venerantes, in primis gloriosæ semper virginis Mariæ genitricis ejusdem Dei et Domini nostri Jesu Christi: sed et beatorum apostolorum ac martyrum tuorum, Petri, et Damiani: et omnium sanctorum tuorum, quorum meritis precibusque concedas, ut in omnibus protectionis tuæ muniamur auxilio. Per eundem. etc.

¶ *Sequens præfatio dicitur Feria iij. in capite jejunii, et in omnibus missis de jejunio, nisi in dominicis ab hinc usque ad cænam Domini.*

Æterne Deus. Qui corporali jejunio vitia comprimis, mentem elevas, virtutem largiris et præmia: per Christum Dominum nostrum. Per quem. *Nota quod in dominicis per Quadragesimam dicitur præfatio quotidiana. In cœna Domini etiam præfatio quotidiana dicitur. Infra Canonem Communicantes, et Hanc igitur, et Qui pridie, tam ab episcopo quam a sacerdote dicuntur.*

Infra Canonem.

Communicantes, et diem sacratissimum celebrantes, quo Dominus noster Jesus Christus pro nobis traditus est: sed et memoriam venerantes, in primis gloriosæ semper virginis Mariæ genitricis ejusdem Dei et Domini nostri Jesu Christi: sed et beatorum apostolorum ac martyrum tuorum, Petri, et Damiani: et omnium sanctorum tuorum, quorum meritis precibus-

que concedas: ut in omnibus protectionis tuæ muniamur auxilio. Per eundem Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

Item. Hanc igitur oblationem servitutis nostræ, sed et cunctæ familiæ tuæ, quam tibi offerimus ob diem in quo Dominus noster Jesus Christus tradidit discipulis suis corporis et sanguinis sui mysteria celebranda, quæsumus Domine, ut placatus accipias, diesque nostros in tua pace disponas, atque ab æterna damnatione nos eripi, et in electorum tuorum jubeas grege numerari. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

Qui pridie quam pateretur pro nostra omniumque salute, hoc est hodie; accepit panem in sanctas ac venerabiles manus suas, et elevatis oculis in cœlum ad te Deum. etc.

C *Sequens præfatio dicitur in die Paschæ, et per totam hebdomadam, et in omnibus dominicis, usque ad Ascensionem, quando de dominica sive de Pascha dicitur missa. Sed in vigilia Paschæ tantum dicitur in præfatione, Sed in hac potissimum nocte. Quandocunque vero alias dicitur; dicitur, Sed in hac potissimum die. Communiantes vero, et Hanc igitur per hebdomadam, et in octava Paschæ tantum dicuntur: ita quod in vigilia Paschæ tantum dicitur, noctem sacratissimam. In die vero Paschæ, et alias quando dicitur, diem sacratissimum, dicatur;*

Æterne Deus. Et te quidem omni tempore, sed in hac potissimum die (nocte) gloriosius prædicare, cum Pascha nostrum immolatus est Christus. Ipse enim verus est Agnus, qui abstulit peccata mundi. Qui mortem nostram moriendo destruxit, et vitam resurgendo reparavit. Et ideo cum Angelis etc.

Infra Canonem.

Communiantes, et diem sacratissimum (*noctem sacratissimam*) celebrantes resurrectionis Domini nostri Jesu Christi, secundum carnem: sed et memoriam venerantes, in primis gloriosæ semper virginis Mariæ genitricis ejus-

dem Dei et Domini nostri Jesu Christi : sed et beatorum
apostolorum ac martyrum tuorum, Petri

et Damiani: et omnium sanctorum tuorum, quorum meritis precibusque concedas, ut in omnibus protectionis tuae muniamur auxilio. Per eundem Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

Item. Hanc igitur oblationem servitutis nostræ, sed et cunctæ familiae tuæ, quam tibi offerimus pro his quoque, quos regenerare dignatus es ex aqua et Spiritu Sancto, tribuens eis remissionem omnium peccatorum, quæsumus Domine, ut placatus accipias, diesque nostros in tua pace disponas, atque ab æterna damnatione nos eripi, et in electorum tuorum jubeas grege numerari. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

C Sequens præfatio dicitur in die Ascensionis Domini : et per octavam et in octava, et in dominica infra octavam quando de dominica agitur : et Communicantes.

Æterne Deus: per Christum Dominum nostrum. Qui post resurrectionem suam omnibus discipulis suis manifestus apparuit; et ipsis cernentibus est elevatus in cœlum, ut nos divinitatis suæ tribueret esse participes. Et ideo cum Angelis.

Infra Canonem.

Communicantes, et diem sacratissimum celebrantes, quo Dominus noster Jesus Christus unigenitus Filius tuus, unitam sibi fragilitatis nostrae substantiam in gloriæ tuae dextera collocavit. Sed et memoriam venerantes, in primis gloriosæ semper virginis Mariae genitricis ejusdem Dei et Domini nostri Jesu Christi: sed et beatorum apostolorum ac martyrum tuorum Petri,

et Damiani: et omnium sanctorum tuorum
quorum meritis precibusque concedas, ut in omnibus
protectionis tuæ muniamur auxilio. Per eumdem.

C Sequens præfatio dicitur in die Pentecostes, et per hebdomadam, et in omnibus missis de Sancto Spiritu. Communicantes. et Hanc igitur in die Pentecostes et ab hinc usque ad festum Sanctæ Trinitatis dicuntur tantum.

Æterne Deus : per Christum Dominum nostrum. Qui ascendens super omnes cœlos, sedensque ad dexteram tuam, promissum Spiritum Sanctum hodierna die in filios adoptionis effudit. Quapropter profusis gaudiis, totus in orbe terrarum mundus exultat : sed et supernæ virtutes atque angelicæ potestates hymnum gloriæ tuae concinunt, sine fine dicentes.

¶ *Infra Canonem.*

Communicantes, et diem sacratissimum Pentecostes celebrantes, quo Spiritus Sanctus apostolis in igneis linguis apparuit. Sed et memoriam venerantes, in primis gloriosæ semper virginis Mariæ genitricis ejusdem Dei et Domini nostri Jesu Christi : sed et beatorum apostolorum ac martyrum tuorum Petri,

. . . et Damiani : et omnium sanctorum tuorum quorum meritis precibusque concedas, ut in omnibus protectionis tuae muniamur auxilio. Per eundem Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

Item. Hanc igitur oblationem servitutis nostræ, sed et cunctæ familiae tuæ, quam tibi offerimus pro his quoque, quos regenerare dignatus es ex aqua et Spiritu Sancto, tribuens eis remissionem omnium peccatorum, quæsumus Domine, ut placatus accipias, diesque nostros in tua pace disponas, atque ab æterna damnatione nos eripi, et in electorum tuorum jubeas grege numerari. Per eundem Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

¶ *Sequens præfatio dicitur in die Sanctæ Trinitatis, et in omnibus dominicis usque ad adventum Domini, quando de dominica dicitur missa, licet in capella dicatur, et in omnibus commemorationibus Sanctæ Trinitatis per totum annum, et in omni missa sponsalium.*

Æterne Deus. Qui cum unigenito Filio tuo et Spiritu Sancto unus es Deus, unus es Dominus : non in unius singularitate personæ, sed in unius Trinitate substantiæ. Quod enim de tua gloria, revelante te, credimus, hoc de Filio tuo, hoc de Spiritu Sancto, sine differentia discretionis sentimus. Ut in confessione veræ sempiternæque

Deitatis, et in personis proprietas, et in essentia unitas, et in maiestate adoretur aequalitas. Quam laudant Angeli atque Archangeli, Cherubin quoque ac Seraphin, qui non cessant clamare una voce dicentes.

¶ *Sequens præfatio dicitur in omnibus festis Apostolorum, et Evangelistarum, et per octavas Apostolorum Petri et Pauli, atque Andreæ, quando de octava dicitur missa, præterquam in festo sancti Johannis Apostoli et Evangelistæ, in hebdomada nativitatis Domini. In octava vero ejusdem dicetur, et in festo ejus in tempore paschali.*

Æterne Deus: et te Domine suppliciter exorare, ut gregem tuum, Pastor æterne, non deseras: sed per beatos Apostolos tuos continua protectione custodias. Ut iisdem rectoribus gubernetur, quos operis tui vicarios eidem contulisti præesse pastores. Et ideo cum Angelis et Archangelis, cum thronis et dominationibus, cumque omni militia cœlestis exercitus hymnum gloriæ tuæ canimus, sine fine dicentes.

¶ *Sequens præfatio dicitur, in utroque festo sanctæ Crucis, et in commemorationibus ejusdem, per totum annum.*

Æterne Deus. Qui salutem humani generis in ligno constituisti, ut unde mors oriebatur, inde vita resurget: et qui in ligno vicerat, in ligno quoque vinceretur: per Christum Dominum nostrum. Per quem majestatem tuam laudant angeli, adorant dominationes, tremunt potestates. Cœli, cœlorumque virtutes, ac beata seraphin socia exultatione concelebrant. Cum quibus et nostras voces ut admitti jubeas deprecamur, supplici confessione dicentes.

¶ *Sequens præfatio dicitur in omni festo beatæ Mariæ virginis, nisi in purificatione ejusdem. Dicatur etiam per octavas assumptionis et nativitatis beatæ Mariæ et in commemoratione ejusdem, per totum annum: nisi a die nativitatis Domini, usque ad purificationem beatæ Mariæ.*

Æterne Deus: et te in Conceptione, et te in Annunciatione, et te in Assumptione, et te in Nativitate, et te in Visitatione, et te in Veneratione beatæ et gloriosæ

semper virginis Mariæ exultantibus animis, laudare, benedicere, et prædicare. Quæ et Unigenitum tuum Sancti Spiritus obumbratione concepit: et virginitatis gloria permanente, huic mundo lumen aeternum effudit, Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum. Per quem majestatem tuam laudant angeli, adorant dominationes, tremunt potestates. Cœli, cœlorumque virtutes, ac beata seraphin socia exultatione concelebrant. Cum quibus et nostras voces ut admitti jubeas deprecamur, supplici confessione dicentes.

VIII.

Benedictiones Episcopales.⁵⁹

The following selections will enable the reader to judge of the general character of the episcopal Benedictions, which were anciently given during the canon of the mass when a Bishop officiated. They are referred to in the Sarum Manual, and probably were continued in the English Church until the alteration of the service in the reign of Edward the sixth, although they had been long disused in the Church of Rome. The reader will find more information about them in my Dissertation on the Service Books, to which I must venture to refer him. The Sarum benedictions do not agree with those in the pontifical of the Church of Bangor, nor with many of those in the Exeter pontifical of Bishop Lacy: but rather with the Benedictional of S. Æthelwold,⁶⁰ and, though there are considerable variations, with the benedictions at the end of the Junta Roman pontifical of 1520: the only printed edition in which they are contained.

The benedictions in the Exeter MS. are stated to have been edited and published by John Peckham, Archbishop of Canterbury.



OMINICA prima adventus Domini benedictio.

Omnipotens Deus, cuius Unigeniti adventum et præteritum creditis et futurum expectatis, ejusdem adventus vos illustratione sanctificet, et sua benedictione locupletet. Amen.

In præsentis vitæ stadio vos ab omni adversitate defendat, et se vobis in judicio placabilem ostendat. Amen.

Quo a cunctis peccatorum contagiis liberati, in præsentis vitæ curriculo cum sanctis animabus tanto inter-

⁵⁹ From the MS. Pontifical "Ad usum Sarum," before described.

⁶⁰ Published in the *Archæologia*, vol. 24.

cessore inveniamini digni, et illius tremendi examinis diem expectetis interrati. Amen.

Ista benedictio sequens dicatur in fine cujuslibet benedictionis per annum.

Quod ipse præstare dignetur, cujus regnum et imperium sine fine permanet in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Benedictio Dei omnipotentis, Pa†tris, et Fi†lli, et Spiritus † Sancti, descendat super vos, et maneat semper. Amen.

Benedictio in festo Sancti Stephani protomartyris.

Deus, qui beatum Stephanum protomartyrem et confessione fidei et agone coronavit martyrii, mentes vestras circumdet in præsenti sæculo corona justitiae, et in futuro perducat ad coronam gloriae sempiternæ. Amen.

Illius obtentu tribuat vobis Dei et proximi caritate semper fervere, qui hanc studuit etiam inter lapidantium impetus feliciter obtinere. Amen.

Quo ejus et exemplo roborati, et intercessione muniti, ab eo quem ille a dextris Dei vidit stantem mereamini benedici. Amen.

Quod ipse. etc.

In die Paschæ. Benedictio.

Benedicat vos omnipotens Deus, hodierna interveniente paschali solemnitate: et ab omni miseratus dignetur defendere pravitate. Amen.

Ut qui ad æternam vitam in Unigeniti sui resurrectione vos reparat: in ipsius adventu immortalitatis vos gaudiis vestiat. Amen.

Ut qui expletis jejuniorum sive passionis dominicæ diebus paschalis festi gaudia celebratis: ad ea festa quæ non sunt annua sed continua, ipso opitulante exultantibus animis veniatis. Amen.

Quod ipse. etc.

In festo sanctæ Trinitatis.

Omnipotens Trinitas, unus et verus Deus, Pater, et Filius, et Spiritus Sanctus, det vobis eum desiderare feliciter, agnoscere veraciter, diligere sinceriter. Amen.

Æqualitatem atque incommutabilitatem suæ essentiae ita vestris mentibus infigat, ut ab eo nunquam vos quibuscumque phantasiis aberrare permittat. Amen.

Sicque vos in sua fide et caritate perseverare concedat, ut per ea postmodum ad sui manifestationem visionemque interminabilem introducat. Amen.

Quod ipse. etc.

In celebratione nuptiarum.

Summæ providentiae Dominus qui post lapsum protoplastorum per bona matrimonii usum carnalis desiderii excusabilem existere decrevisti, sanctificare digneris conjugale propositum in quo præsentes conjuges abdicatis tori illiciti maculis nectere voluisti. Amen.

Da eis sub præsentis commercii indulgentia inquimenta cætera devitare : ut fructum tricenum ex verbi tui semine valeant obtinere. Amen.

Quo sicut conjugium magis magnum existat Christi et ecclesiæ sacramentum, sic unitati corporum præponderet caritas animarum, et magis tolerantes quam amantes carnale commercium ad illud mentaliter suspendantur gaudium, ubi similitudo felicitatis angelicæ excludit omne contagium mortalium nuptiarum. Amen.

Quod ipse. etc.

IX.

The following prayers are taken from a MS. missal in my possession, of the 13th Century: it formerly belonged to some English Benedictine monastery. The prayers are very remarkable, and I do not remember to have seen them in any other missal. They are placed immediately before the Prefaces, after the Ordinary. Martene, among the numerous Orders which he gives in the first volume of his collections, has printed an ancient one, preserved in the Colbertine library, in which some similar may be found. *De Ant. Ecc. Rit.* tom. i. p. 194.



*D*iscendum. Ex latere Christi sanguis et aqua exisse perhibetur, et ideo pariter commiscemus: ut omnipotens et misericors Deus utrumque ad medelam animarum nostrarum sanctificare dignetur. Qui vivit.

Ad corporale sternendum. In tuo conspectu, Domine, quæsumus hæc nostra munera tibi placita sint, ut nos tibi placere valeamus. Per Dominum.

Ad hostiam. Grata tibi sit, Domine, hæc oblatio, quam tibi offerimus pro nostris delictis, et pro ecclesia tua sancta catholica. Per.

Ad calicem. Offerimus tibi, Domine, hæc munera in memoriam Jesu Christi, Filii tui, humiliter deprecantes clementiam tuam: ut ante conspectum Divinæ majestatis tuæ, cum odore suavitatis ascendant. Per eundem.

Super hostiam impositam. Suscipe, Domine sancte, Pater omnipotens, æterne Deus, hanc hostiam oblationis, quan*i* ego indignus et peccator tibi Deo meo vivo et vero humiliter offero: et mittere dignare Spiritum Sanctum tuum de cœlis, qui sua admixtione sanctificet hoc munus tibi oblatum. Per ejus.

Appendix.

Liturgia S. Clementis.

Τόμος ὁ διακονος λεγη̄ μη τις των κατηχου-
μενων. μη τις των ακροωμενων̄ μη τις των
απιστων. μη τις των ἑτεροδοξων̄ οἱ την πρω-
την ευχην̄ ευχομενοι προελθετε. τα παιδια
προσλαμβανεσθε αἱ μητερες. μη τις κατα 5
τινος. μη τις εν ὑποκρισει. ορθοι προς κυριον
μετα φοβου και τρομου ἐστωτες ωμεν προσφερειν. ὃν γενομενων
οἱ διακονοι προσαγετωσαν τα δωρα τῷ επισκοπῷ προς το θυ-
σιαστηριον̄ και οἱ πρεσβυτεροι εκ δεξιων αυτου και εξ ευωνυ-
μων στηκετωσαν, ὡς αν μαθηται παρεστωτες διδασκαλῳ. δυο 10
δε διακονοι εξ ἑκατερων των μερων του θυσιαστηριου κατεχε-
τωσαν εξ ὑμενων λεπτων ῥιπιδιον, η πτερων τανος, η οθονης̄
και ἡρεμα αποσοβειτωσαν τα μικρα των ἵπταμενων ζωων,
ὅπως αν μη εγχριμπτωνται εις τα κυπελλα. ευχαριτενος ουν
καθ' ἑαυτον̄ ἀρχιερευς ἀμα τοις ἴερευσι, και λαμπραν εσθητα 15
μετενδυς, και στας προς τῷ θυσιαστηριῳ, το τροπαιον του
σταυρου κατα του μετωπου τῇ χειρι ποιησαμενος εις παν-
τας, ειπατω̄ ἡ χαρις του παντοκρατορος Θεου, και ἡ αγα-
πη του κυριου ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου, και ἡ κοινωνια του ἀγιου
πνευματος, εστω μετα παντων ὑμων̄ και παντες συμφωνως 20
λεγετωσαν, ὅτι και μετα του πνευματος σου. και ὁ αρχιε-
ρευς̄ ανω τον νουν̄ και παντες̄ εχομεν προς τον κυριον. και
ὁ αρχιερευς̄ ευχαριστησαμεν τῷ κυριῳ̄ και παντες̄ αξιον
και δικαιον. και ὁ αρχιερευς ειπατω̄ αξιον ὡς αληθως και δι-
καιον, προ παντων ανυμνειν σε τον οντως ουτα Θεον, τον προ 25

των γενητων ουτα, εξ ού πασα πατριχ εν ουρανω και επι γης
 ονομαζεται τον μονον αγεννητον, και αναρχον, και αβασιλευ-
 τον, και αδεσποτον, τον ανενδεη. τον παντος αγαθου χορηγον,
 τον πασης αιτιας και γενεσεως κρειττονα, τον παντοτε κατα
 5 τα αυτα και ωσαυτως εχοντα· εξ ου τα παντα, καθαπερ εκ
 τινος αφετηριας, εις το ειναι παρηλθεν. συ γαρ ει η αναρχος
 γνωσις, η αιδιος ορασις, η αγεννητος ακοη, η αδιδακτος σοφια·
 ο πρωτος τη φυσει, και νομος τω ειναι, και κρειττων παντος
 αριθμου. τα παντα εκ του μη οντος εις το ειναι παραγαγων
 10 δια του μονογενους σου υιου· αυτον δε προ παντων αιωνων γεν-
 νησας Βουλησει, και δυναμει, και αγαθοτητι, αμεσιτευτως,
 υιου μονογενη, λογον Θεον, σοφιαν ζωσαν, πρωτοτοκον πασης
 κτισεως, αγγελον της μεγαλης Βουλης σου, αρχιερεα σου,
 βασιλεα δε και κυριον πασης νοητης και αισθητης φυσεως, του
 15 προ παντων, δι' ου τα παντα. συ γαρ θεε αιωνιε, δι' αυτου τα
 παντα πεποιηκας, και δι' αυτου της προσηκουσης προνοιας τα
 ολα αξιοις. δι' ου γαρ το ειναι εχαρισω, δι' αυτου και το ευ
 ειναι εδωρησω. ο Θεος και πατηρ του μονογενους υιου σου· ο δι'
 αυτου προ παντων ποιησας τα Χερουβιμ και τα Σεραφιμ,
 20 αιωνας τε και στρατιας, δυναμεις τε και εξουσιας, αρχας τε
 και θρονους, αρχαγγελους τε και αγγελους· και μετα ταυτα
 παντα, ποιησας δι' αυτου τον φαινομενον τουτον κοσμον, και
 παντα τα εν αυτω· συ γαρ ει ο τον ουρανον ως καμαραν στη-
 σας, και ως δερριν εκτεινας, και την γην επ' ουδενος ιδρυσας
 25 γνωμη μονη· ο πηξας στερεωμα, και νυκτα και ημεραν κατα-
 σκευασας· ο εξαγαγων φως εκ θησαυρων, και τη τουτου στολη
 επαγγαγων το σκοτος, εις αναπαιλαν των εν τω κοσμω κινου-
 μενων ζωων· ο τον ήλιον ταξας εις αρχας της ημερας, εν ου-
 ρανω, και την σεληνην εις αρχας της νυκτος, και τον χορον των
 30 αστερων εν ουρανω καταγραψας, εις αινον της σης μεγαλοπρε-
 πειας· ο ποιησας ιδωρ προς ποσιν και καθαρσιν, αερα ζωτικον
 προς εισπνοην και φωνης αποδοσιν δια γλωττης πληττουσης
 τον αερα, και ακοην συνεργουμενην υπ' αυτου ως επαιειν εισ-
 δεχομενην την προσπιπτουσαν αυτη λαλιαν· ο ποιησας πυρ

προς σκοτους παραμυθιαν, προς ενδειας αναπληρωσιν, και το θερμαινεσθαι ήμας και φωτιζεσθαι ύπ' αυτου· ὁ την μεγαλην θαλασσαν χωρισας της γης, και την μεν αναδειξας πλωτην, την δε ποσι βασιμον ποιησας, και την μεν ζωις μικροις και μεγαλοις πληθυνας, την δε ήμεροις και ατιθασσοις πληρωσας, 5 φυτοις τε διαφοροις στεψας, και βοταναις στεφανωσας, και ανθεσι καλλυνας, και σπερμασι πλουτισας· ὁ συστησαμενος αβυσσον, και μεγα κητος αυτη περιθεις, αλμυρων υδατων σεσωρευμενα πελαγη, περιφραξας δε αυτην πυλαις αμμου λεπτοτατης· ὁ πνευμασι ποτε μεν αυτην κορυφων εις ορεων μεγεθος, ποτε δε στρωννυων αυτην εις πεδιον, και ποτε μεν εκμαινων χειμωνι, ποτε δε πραινων γαληνη, ὡς ναυσιποροις πλωτηροσιν ευκολον ειναι προς πορειαν· ὁ ποταμοις διαζωσας τον ύπο σου δια Χριστου γενομενον κοσμον, και χειμαρροις επικλυσας, και πηγαις αενναιοις μεθυσας, ορεσι δε περισφιγξας εις ἔδραν ατρεμη 15 γης ασφαλεστατην. επληρωσας γαρ σου τον κοσμον, και διεκοσμησας αυτον βοταναις ευσμοις και ιασιμοις· ζωις πολλοις και διαφοροις, αλκιμοις και ασθενεστεροις, εδωδιμοις και ενεργοις, ήμεροις και ατιθασσοις· ἔρπετων συριγμοις, πτηνων ποικιλων κλαγγαις· ενιαυτων κυκλοις, μηνων και ήμερων αριθμοις, τροπων ταξεσι. νεφων ομβροτοκων διαδρομαις, εις καρπων γονας, και ζωων συστασιν, σταθμον ανεμων διαπνεοντων ότε προσταχθωσι παρασου, των φυτων και των βοτανων το πληθος. και ου μονον τον κοσμον εδημιουργησας· αλλα και τον κοσμοπολιτην ανθρωπον εν αυτῳ εποιησας, κοσμου κοσμον αυτον αναδειξας. ειπας γαρ τη ση σοφια· Ποιησαμεν ανθρωπον κατ' εικονα ήμετεραν, και καθ' ὄμοιωσιν· και αρχετωσαν των ιχθυων της θαλασσης, και των πετεινων του ουρανου. Διο και πεποιηκας αυτον εκ ψυχης αθανατου και σωματος σκεδαστου· της μεν εκ του μη οντος, του δε εκ των τεσσαρων στοιχειων· 30 και δεδωκας αυτῳ, κατα μεν την ψυχην, την λογικην διαγνωσιν, ευσεβειας και ασεβειας διακρισιν, δικαιου και αδικου παρατηρησιν· κατα δε το σωμα την πενταθλον εχαρισω αισθησιν, και την μεταβατικην κινησιν. συ γαρ Θεε παντοκρατορ, δια

Χριστού παραδεισον εν Εδεμ κατα ανατολας εφιτευσας, παντοιων φυτων εδωδιμων κοσμω, και εν αυτω ως αν εν έστια πολυτελει εισηγαγες αυτον⁵ καν τω ποιειν νομον δεδωκας αυτω εμφιτον, όπως οικοθεν και παρ⁶ έαυτου εχοι τα σπερματα της θεογνωσιας. εισαγαγων δε εις τον της τρυφης παραδεισον, παντων μεν αινηκας αυτω την εξουσιαν προς μεταληψιν, ένος δε μονου την γευσιν απειπας επ⁷ ελπιδι κρειττονων, ινα εαν φυλαξη την εντολην, μισθον ταυτης την αθανασιαν κομισηται.

αμελησαντα δε της εντολης, και γευσαμενον απηγορευμενου

10 καρπου απατη οφεως και συμβουλια γυναικος, του μεν παραδεισου δικαιως εξωσας αυτον, αγαθοτητι δε εις το παντελες απολλυμενον ουχ ύπερειδες⁸ σου γαρ η δημιουργημα⁹ αλλα καθυποταξας αυτω την κτισιν, δεδωκας αυτω οικειοις ιδρωσι και πονοις ποριζειν έαυτω την τροφην, σου παντα φιουντος και

15 αυξοντος και πεπαινοντος¹⁰ χρονω δε προς ολιγον αυτον κοιμισας, όρκω εις παλιγγενεσιαν εκαλεσας¹¹ όρον θανατου λυσας, ζωην εξ αναστασεως επηγγειλω. και ου τουτο μονον. αλλα και τους εξ αυτου εις πληθος αναριθμον χεας, τους εμμειναντας σοι εδοξασ, τους δε αποσταντας σου εκολασας¹² και του μεν Αβελ,

20 ως οσιου προσδεξαμενος την θυσιαν, του δε αδελφοκτονου Καιν αποστραφεις το δωρον, ως εναγους. και προς τουτοις του Σηθ, και του Ενως προσελαθου, και του Ενωχ μετατεθεικας. συ γαρ ει ο δημιουργος τον ανθρωπων, και της ζωης χορηγος, και της ενδειας πληρωτης¹³ και των νομων δοτηρ, και των φυλαττοντων

25 αυτους μισθαποδοτης, και των παραβαινοντων αυτους εκδικος. ο τον μεγαν κατακλυσμον επαγαγων τω κοσμω δια το πληθος των ασεβησαντων, και τον δικαιον Νωε ρυσαμενος εκ του κατακλυσμου εν λαρναις συν οκτω ψυχαις, τελος μεν των παρωχηκτων, αρχην δε των μελλοντων επιγινεσθαι. ο το φοβερον πυρ κατα

30 της Σοδομηνης πενταπολεως εξαψας, και γην καρποφορονεις άλμην θεμενος απο κακιας των κατοικουντων εν αυτη, και τον οσιον Λωτ εξαρπασας του εμπρησμου. συ ει ο τον Αβρααμ ρυσαμενος προγονικης ασεβειας, και κληρονομον του κοσμου καταστησας, και εμφανισας αυτω τον Χριστον σου. ο τον Μελχισεδεκ,

αρχιερεώς της λατρειας προχειρισμένος. ὁ τον πολυτλανθερα-
ποντα σου Ιωβ νικητην του αρχεκακου οφεως αναδειξας. ὁ τον
Ισαακ επαγγελιας υιον ποιησαμενος. ὁ τον Ιακωβ πατερα
δωδεκα παιδων, και τους εξ αυτου εις πληθος χεας, και εισα-
γαγων εις Αιγυπτον εν ἐβδομηκοντα πεντε ψυχαις. συ κυριε, 5
Ιωσηφ ουχ ὑπερειδες' αλλα μισθον της δια σε σωφροσυνης εδω-
κας αυτῳ το των Αιγυπτιων αρχειν. συ κυριε, Ἐβραιους ὑπο
Αιγυπτιων καταπονουμενους ου περιειδες, δια τας προς τους
πατερας αυτων επαγγελιας' αλλ' ἐρρυσω, κολασας Αιγυπ-
τιους. παραφθειραντων δε των ανθρωπων τον φυσικον νομον, και 10
την κτισιν, ποτε μεν αυτοματον νομισαντων, ποτε δε πλειον
η δει τιμησαντων, και σοι τῳ Θεῳ των παντων συνταττοντων.
ουκ ειασας πλανασθαι, αλλα αναδειξας τον ἄγιον σου θερα-
ποντα Μωϋσην, δι' αυτου προς Βοηθειαν του φυσικου τον γραπ-
τον νομον δεδωκας, και την κτισιν εδειξας σον εργον ειναι, την 15
δε πολυθεον πλανην εξωρισας. τον Ααρων και τους εξ αυτου
ἱερατικη τιμη εδοξασας. Ἐβραιους ἀμαρτοντας εκολασας,
επιστρεφοντας εδεξω τους Αιγυπτιους δεκαπληγω ετιμωρη-
σω. θαλασσαν διελων, Ισραηλιτας διεβιβασας. Αιγυπτιους
επιδιωξαντας ὑποβρυχιους απωλεσας. ξυλω πικρον ὑδωρ ε- 20
γλυκανας. εκ πετρας ακροτομου ὑδωρ ανεχεας. εξ ουρανου το
μαννα ὑσας. τροφην εξ αερος ορτυγομητρων. στυλον πυρος την
νυκτα προς φωτισμον, και στυλον νεφελης ἡμεραν προς σκι-
ασμον θαλπους. τον Ιησουν στρατηγον αναδειξας, ἐπτα εθνη
Χαναναιων δι' αυτου καθειλες, Ιορδανην διερρηξας, τους ποτα- 25
μους Ηθαμ εξηρανας, τειχη κατερριψας ανευ μηχανηματων
και χειρος ανθρωπινης. ὑπερ ἀπαντων σοι η δοξα, δεσποτα
παντοκρατορ. σε προσκυνουσιν αναριθμοι στρατιαι αγγελων,
αρχαγγελων, θρονων, κυριοτητων, αρχων, εξουσιων, δυναμεων,
στρατιων, αιωνων. τα Χερουβιμ, και τα ἔξαπτερυγα Σερα- 30
φιμ, ταις μεν δυσι κατακαλυπτοντα τους ποδας, ταις δε δυσι
τας κεφαλας, ταις δε δυσι πετομενα, και λεγοντα, ἀμα χι-
λιαις χιλιασιν αρχαγγελων, και μυριαις μυριασιν αγγελων,
ακαταπαυστως και ασιγητως Βοωσαις και πας ὁ λαος ἀμα

ειπατω ἀγιος, ἀγιος, ἀγιος κυριος Σαβαωθ· πληρης ὁ ουρανος
 και ἡ γη της δοξης αυτου· ευλογητος εις τους αιωνας. αμην.
 και ὁ αρχιερευς ἔξης λεγετω· ἀγιος γαρ ει ὡς αληθως, και παν-
 αγιος, ὑψιστος και ὑπερυψουμενος εις τους αιωνας. ἀγιος δε
 5 και ὁ μονογενης σου υιος ὁ κυριος ἡμων και Θεος Ιησους ὁ Χρι-
 στος· ὁς εις παντα ὑπηρετησαμενος σοι τῳ Θεῳ αυτου και πα-
 τρι, εις τε δημιουργιαν διαφορον, και προνοιαν καταλληλον, ου
 περιειδε το γενος των ανθρωπων απολυμενον, αλλα μετα φυ-
 σικον νομον, μετα νομικην παραινεσιν, μετα προφητικους ελεγ-
 10 χους, και τας των αγγελων επιστασιας, παραφθειροντων συν
 τῳ θετῳ και τον φυσικον νομον, και της μυημης εκβαλλοντων
 τον κατακλυσμον, την εκπυρωσιν, τας κατ' Αιγυπτιων πλη-
 γας, τας κατα Παλαιστηνων σφαγας, και μελλοντων ὅσον
 ουδεπω απολυσθαι παντων, ευδοκησεν αυτος γνωμη σῃ ὁ δη-
 15 μιουργος ανθρωπου, ανθρωπος γενεσθαι, ὁ νομοθετης ὑπο νομους,
 ὁ αρχιερευς ἵερειου, ὁ ποιμην προβατου, και εξευμενιστατο σε
 τον ἑαυτου Θεον και πατερα, και τῳ κοσμῳ κατηλαξε, και
 της επικειμενης οργης τους παντας ηλευθερωσε, γενομενος εκ
 παρθενου, γενομενος εν σαρκι, ὁ Θεος λογος, ὁ αγαπητος υιος,
 20 ὁ πρωτοτοκος πασης κτισεως, κατα τας περι αυτου ὑπ' αυτου
 προρηθεισας προφητειας εκ σπερματος Δαβιδ, και Αβρααμ,
 Φυλης Ιουδα· και γεγονεν εν μητρᾳ παρθενου ὁ διαπλασσων
 παντας τους γενωμενους, και ενσαρκωθη ὁ ασαρκος, ὁ αχρονως
 γεννηθεις εν χρονω γεγενηται· πολιτευσαμενος ὅσιως και πα-
 25 δευσας ενθεσμως, πασαν νοσον και πασαν μαλακιαν εξ ανθρω-
 πων απελασας, σημειω τε και τερατα εν τῳ λαω ποιησας·
 τροφης και ποτου και ὑπνου μεταλαβων, ὁ τρεφων παντας
 τους χρηζοντας τροφης, και εμπιπλων παν ζωον ευδοκιας·
 εφανερωσε σου το ονομα τοις αγνοουσιν αυτο, την αγνοιαν εφυ-
 30 γαδευσε, την ευσεβειαν ανεζωπυρωσε, το θελημα σου επλη-
 ρωσε, το εργον ὁ εδωκας αυτῳ ετελειωσε· και ταυτα παντα
 κατορθωσας, χερσιν ανομων κατασχεθεις, ἵερεων και αρχιερεων
 ψευδωνυμων και λαου παρανομου, προδοσιᾳ του την κακιαν
 νοσησαντος, και πολλα παθων ὑπ' αυτων, και πασαν ατιμιαν

ὑποστας σῃ συγχωρησει, παραδοθεις Πιλατῳ τῷ ἡγεμονὶ, καὶ κριθεις ὁ κριτης, καὶ κατακριθεις ὁ σωτηρ, σταυρῷ προσηλωθη ὁ απαθης, καὶ απεθανεις ὁ τῇ φυσει αθνατος, καὶ εταφη ὁ ζωοποιος, ἵνα παθους λυσῃ καὶ θανατου εξεληται τουτους τους δι' οὓς παρεγενετο, καὶ ῥηξῃ τα δεσμα του διαβολου, καὶ ῥυση- 5 ται τους ανθρωπους εκ της απατης αυτου· καὶ ανεστη εκ νεκρων τη τριτη ἡμερα· καὶ τεσσαρακοντα ἡμερας ενδιατριψας τοις μαθηταις, ανεληφθη εις τους ουρανους, καὶ εκαθεσθη εκ δεξιων σου του Θεου καὶ πατρος αυτου. μεμνημενοι ουν ὡν δι' ἡμας ὑπεμεινεν, ευχαριστουμεν σοι, Θεε παντοκρατορ, ουχ ὅσον οφει- 10 λομεν, αλλ' ὅσον δυναμεθα, καὶ την διαταξιν αυτου πληρουμεν. εν ᾧ γαρ νικτι παρεδιδοτο, λαβων αρτον ταις ἀγιαις καὶ αρωμοις αυτου χερσι, καὶ αναβλεψας προς σε τον Θεον αυτου καὶ πατερα, καὶ κλασας, εδωκε τοις μαθηταις, ειπων· τουτο 15 το μυστηριον της καινης διαθηκης· λαβετε εξ αυτου, φαγετε· 15 τουτο εστι το σωμα μου, το περι πολλων θρυπτομενον εις αφεσιν ἀμαρτιων· ὡσαυτως καὶ το ποτηριον κερασας εξ οινου καὶ ὑδατος, καὶ ἀγιασας, επεδωκεν αυτοις, λεγων· πιετε εξ αυτου παντες· τουτο εστι το ἀιμα μου, το περι πολλων εκχυνομενον εις αφεσιν ἀμαρτιων. τουτο ποιειτε εις την εμην αναμνησιν. 20 ὅσακις γαρ εαν εσθιητε τον αρτον τουτον, καὶ πινητε το ποτηριον τουτο, τον θανατον τον εμον καταγγελλετε, αχρις αν ελθω. μεμνημενοι τοινυν του παθους αυτου, καὶ του θανατου, καὶ της εκ νεκρων αναστασεως, καὶ της εις ουρανους επανοδου, 25 καὶ της μελλουσης αυτου δευτερας παρουσιας, εν ᾧ ερχεται μετα δοξης καὶ δυναμεως κριναι ζωντας καὶ νεκρους, καὶ αποδουναι ἐκαστῳ κατα τα εργα αυτου, προσφερομεν σοι τῷ βασιλει καὶ Θεῷ, κατα την αυτου διαταξιν, τον αρτον τουτον, καὶ το ποτηριον τουτο, ευχαριστουντες σοι δι' αυτου, εφ' οις κατηξιωσας ἡμας ἐσταναι ενωπιον σου, καὶ ἵερατευειν σοι, καὶ 30 αξιουμεν σε, ὅπως ευμενως επιβλεψης επι τα προκειμενα δωρα ταυτα ενωπιον σου, συ ὁ ανενδεης Θεος, καὶ ευδοκησης επ' αυτοις εις τιμην του Χριστου σου, καὶ καταπεμψης το ἀγιον σου πνευμα επι την θυσιαν ταυτην, τον μαρτυρα των παθηματων

του κυρίου Ἰησού, ὅπως αποφηνῇ τὸν αρτὸν τούτον σῶμα τοῦ
Χριστοῦ σου, καὶ τὸ ποτηρίον τούτο αἷμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου,
ίνα οἱ μεταλαβούτες αὐτοῦ, Βεβαιωθῶσι πρὸς ευσεβεῖαν, αφε-
σεως ἀμαρτημάτων τυχῶσι, τοῦ διαβόλου καὶ τῆς πλανῆς
5 αὐτοῦ ἀσθθῶσι, πνευμάτος ἀγίου πληρωθῶσιν, αἵρει τοῦ Χρι-
στοῦ σου γεννωνται, ζῶντος αἰώνιου τυχῶσι, σου καταλλαγεντος
αὐτοῖς, δεσπότα παντοκρατορ. Ετι δεομεθα σου, κυριε, καὶ
ὑπέρ της ἀγίας σου εκκλησίας της απὸ περατῶν ἑως περατῶν,
ἥν περιεπομπω τῷ τιμιῷ αἵματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου, ὅπως αὐτην
10 διαφυλαχθῇσ ασειστον καὶ ακλυδωνιστον, αχρι της συντελειας
του αιωνος καὶ ὑπέρ πασης επισκοπης της ορθοτομουσης του
λογου της αληθειας. Ετι παρακαλουμεν σε καὶ ὑπέρ της εμης
του προσφεροντοσ σοι ουδενιας, καὶ ὑπέρ παντοσ του πρεσβυτε-
ριου, ὑπέρ των διακονων καὶ παντοσ του κληρου, ίνα παντας
15 σοφισας, πνευμάτος ἀγίου πληρωσῃς. Ετι παρακαλουμεν σε,
κυριε, ὑπέρ του Βασιλεως, καὶ των εν ὑπεροχῃ καὶ παντοσ του
στρατοπεδου, ίνα ειρηνευωνται τα προς ἡμας, ὅπως εν ἡσυχιᾳ
καὶ ὁμονοιᾳ διαγοντες τον παντα χρονον της ζωης ἡμων, δοξα-
ζωμεν σε δια Ιησου Χριστου της ελπιδος ἡμων. Ετι προσφερο-
20 μεν σοι καὶ ὑπέρ παντων των απ' αιωνος ευαρεστησαντων σοι
ἀγιων, πατριαρχων, προφητων, δικαιων, αποστολων, μαρτυ-
ρων, ὁμολογητων, επισκοπων, πρεσβυτερων, διακονων, ὑποδια-
κονων, αναγνωστων, ψαλτων, παρθενων, χηρων, λαικων, καὶ
παντων ὧν αυτος επιστασαι τα ονοματα. Ετι προσφερομεν σοι
25 ὑπέρ του λαου τουτου, ίνα αναδειχθῃσ αυτον εις επαινον του Χρι-
στοῦ σου Βασιλειον ἱερατευμα, εθνος ἀγιον. ὑπέρ των εν παρ-
θενιαι καὶ ἀγνειᾳ, ὑπέρ των χηρων της εκκλησιας, ὑπέρ των εν
σεμνοις γαμοις καὶ τεκνογονιαις, ὑπέρ των νηπιων του λαου σου,
ὅπως μηδενα ἡμων αποβλητον ποιησῃς. Ετι αξιουμεν σε καὶ
30 ὑπέρ της πολεως ταυτης καὶ των ενοικουντων, ὑπέρ των εν αρ-
ρωστιαις, ὑπέρ των εν πικρᾳ δουλειᾳ, ὑπέρ των εν εξοριαις,
ὑπέρ των εν δημευσει, ὑπέρ πλεοντων καὶ ὁδοιπορουντων. ὅπως
επικουρος γενη, παντων Θοηθος καὶ αντιληπτωρ. Ετι παρα-
καλουμεν σε καὶ ὑπέρ των μισουντων ἡμας καὶ διωκοντων ἡμας

δια το ονομα σου, ὑπερ των εξω οντων και πεπλανημενων ὅπως
επιστρεψις αυτους εις αγαθον, και τον θυμον αυτων πραιηνης.
ετι παρακαλουμεν σε και ὑπερ των κατηχουμενων της εκκλη-
σιας, και ὑπερ των χειμαζομενων ὑπο του αλλοτριου, και ὑπερ
των εν μετανοιᾳ αδελφων ἡμων· ὅπως τους μεν τελειωσῃς εν τῃ 5
πιστῃ, τους δε καθαρισῃς εκ της ενεργειας του πουνηρου, των
δε την μετανοιαν προσδεξῃ, και συγχωρησῃς και αυτοις και
ἡμιν τα παραπτωματα ἡμων. ετι προσφερομεν σοι και ὑπερ
της ευκρασιας του αερος και της ευφοριας των καρπων· ὅπως
ανελλειπτως μεταλαμβανοντες των παρα σου αγαθων, αινωμεν 10
σε απαυστως, τον διδοντα τροφην παση σαρκι. ετι παρακα-
λουμεν σε και ὑπερ των δι' ευλογον αιτιαν αποντων· ὅπως
ἀπαντας ἡμας διατηρησας εν τῃ ευτεβειᾳ, επισυναγωγης εν
τῃ βασιλειᾳ του Χριστου σου, του Θεου πασης αισθητης και
νοητης φυσεως, του βασιλεως ἡμων, ατρεπτους, αμεμπτους, 15
ανεγκλητους· ὅτι σοι πασα δοξα, σεβας και ευχαριστια, τι-
μη και προσκυνησις, τῳ πατρι, και τῳ υἱῳ, και τῳ ἀγιῳ πνευ-
ματι, και νυν, και αει, και εις τους ανελλειπεις και ατελευ-
τητους αιωνας των αιωνων. και πας ὁ λαος λεγετω· αμην. και
ὁ επισκοπος ειπατω· ἡ ειρηνη του Θεου ειη μετα παντων ὑμων. 20
και πας ὁ λαος λεγετω· και μετα του πνευματος σου. και ὁ
διακονος κηρυσσετω παλιν.

ετι και ετι δεηθωμεν του Θεου δια του Χριστου αυτου,
ὑπερ του δωρου του προσκομισθεντος κυριῳ τῳ Θεῳ, ὅπως ὁ
αγαθος Θεος προσδεξηται αυτο δια της μεσιτειας του Χριστου 25
αυτου εις το επουρανιον αυτου θυσιαστηριου, εις οσμην ευωδιας.
ὑπερ της εκκλησιας ταυτης και του λαου δεηθωμεν, ὑπερ πα-
σης επισκοπης, παντος πρεσβυτεριου, πασης της εν Χριστω
διακονιας και ὑπηρεσιας, παντος του πληρωματος της εκκλη-
σιας δεηθωμεν· ὅπως ὁ κυριος παντας διατηρησῃ και διαφυλαξῃ. 30
ὑπερ βασιλεων και των εν ὑπεροχῃ δεηθωμεν· ίνα ειρηνευσωνται
τα προς ἡμας, ὅπως ἡρεμον και ἡσυχιον βιον εχοντες, διαγω-
μεν εν παση ευτεβειᾳ και σεμνοτητι. των ἀγιων μαρτυρων
μνημονευσωμεν· ὅπως κοινωνοι γενεσθαι της αθλησεως αυτων

καταξιωθαμεν. ὑπερ των εν πιστει αναπαισαμενων δεηθωμεν. ὑπερ της ευκρασιας των αερων και τελεσφοριας των καρπων δεηθωμεν. ὑπερ των νεοφωτιστων δεηθωμεν, ὅπως Βεβαιωθωσιν εν τῃ πιστει. παντες ὑπ' αλλων παρακαλεσθωσαν. ανα-
 5 στησον ἡμας ὁ Θεος εν τῃ χαριτι σου αγασταντες ἑαυτους τῳ Θεῳ δια του Χριστου αυτου παραθωμεθα. και ὁ επισκοπος λεγετω. ὁ Θεος ὁ μεγας και μεγαλωνυμος, ὁ μεγας τῃ βουλῃ, και κραταιος τοις εργοις, ὁ Θεος και πατηρ του ἀγιου παιδος σου Ιησου του σωτηρος ἡμων, επιβλεψον εφ' ἡμας και επι το
 10 ποιμνιον σου τουτο, ὁ δι' αυτου εξελεζω εις δοξαν του ονοματος σου, και ἀγιασας ἡμων το σωμα και την ψυχην καταξιωσον καθαρους γενομενους απο παντος μολυσμου σαρκος και πνευματος, τυχειν των προκειμενων αγαθων, και μηδενα ἡμων αναξιον κρινης, αλλα βοηθος ἡμων γενου, αντιληπτωρ, ὑπερ-
 15 ασπιστης, δια του Χριστου σου. μεθ' ου σοι δοξα, τιμη, αινος, δοξολογια, ευχαριστια, και τῳ ἀγιῳ πνευματι, εις τους αιωνας. αμην. και μετα το παντας ειπειν, αμην. ὁ διακονος λεγετω. προσχωμεν. και ὁ επισκοπος προσφωνησατω τῳ λαῳ οὗτῳ. τα ἀγια τοις ἀγιοις. και ὁ λαος ὑπακουετω. εις ἀγιος,
 20 εις κυριος, εις Ιησους Χριστος, εις δοξαν Θεου πατρος, ευλογητος εις τους αιωνας. αμην. δοξα εν ὑψιστοις Θεῳ, και επι γης ειρηνη, εν ανθρωποις ευδοκια. Ὁσαννα τῳ νἱῳ Δαβὶδ ευλογημενος ὁ ερχομενος εν ονοματι κυριου, Θεος κυριος, και επεφανη ἡμιν. Ὁσαννα εν τοις ὑψιστοις. και μετα τουτο μετα-
 25 λαμβανετω ὁ επισκοπος, επειτα οι πρεσβυτεροι, και οι διακονοι, και ὑποδιακονοι, και οι αναγνωσται, και οι ψαλται, και οι ασκηται, και εν ταις γυναιξιν αἱ διακονισται, και αἱ παρθενοι, και αἱ χηραι, ειτα τα παιδια, και τοτε πας ὁ λαος κατα ταξιν μετα αιδους και ευλαβειας ανευ θορυβου. και ὁ
 30 μεν επισκοπος διδοτω την προσφοραν, λεγων. σωμα Χριστου. και ὁ δεχομενος λεγετω. αμην. ὁ δε διακονος κατεχετω το ποτηριον, και επιδιδους λεγετω. αἱμα Χριστου, ποτηριου ζωης. και ὁ πινων λεγετω. αμην. ψαλμος δε λεγεσθω τριακοστος τριτος, εν τῳ μεταλημβανειν παντας τους λοιπους. και ὅταν

παντες μεταλαβωσι και πασαι, λαβοντες οι διακονοι τα περισσευσαντα, εισφερετωσαν εις τα παστοφορια. και διακονος λεγετω, παυσαμενου του ψαλλοντος.

Μεταλαβοντες του τιμιου σωματος, και του τιμιου αιματος του Χριστου, ευχαριστησωμεν τω καταξιωσαντι ημας 5 μεταλαβειν των αγιων αυτου μυστηριων, και παρακαλεσωμεν, μη εις κριμα, αλλ' εις σωτηριαν ημιν γενεσθαι, εις αφελειαν ψυχης και σωματος, εις φυλακην ευσεβειας, εις αφεσιν αιμαρτιων, εις ζωην του μελλοντος αιωνος. εγειρωμεθα. εν χαριτι Χριστου έαυτους τω Θεω, τω μονω αγενητω Θεω, και τω 10 Χριστω αυτου παραθωμεθα. και ο επισκοπος ευχαριστειτω.

Δεσποτα ο Θεος ο παντοκρατορ, ο πατηρ του Χριστου σου του ευλογητου παιδος, ο των μετ' ευθυτησ επικαλουμενων σε επηκοος, ο και των σιωπωντων επισταμενος τας εντευξεις 15 ευχαριστουμεν σοι, ότι κατηξιωσας ημας μεταλαβειν των αγιων σου μυστηριων, ο παρεσχου ημιν, εις πληροφοριαν των καλως εγνωσμενων, εις φυλακην της ευσεβειας, εις αφεσιν πλημμεληματων οτι το ονομα του Χριστου σου επικεκληται εφ' ημας, και σοι προσωκειωμεθα. ο χωρισας ημας της των ασεβων κοινωνιας, ένωσον ημας μετα των καθωσιωμενων σοι, 20 στηριζον ημας εν τη αληθεια τη του αγιου πνευματος επιφοιτησει, τα αγνοουμενα αποκαλυψον, τα λειποντα προσαναπληρωσον, τα εγνωσμενα κρατυνον. τους ιερεις αριωμους διαφυλαξον εν τη λατρεια σου. τους βασιλεις διατηρησον εν ειρηνη, τους αρχοντας εν δικαιοσυνη, τους αερας εν ευκρασιᾳ, τους καιρο- 25 πους εν ευφοριᾳ, τον κοσμον εν παναλκει προνοιᾳ. τα εθνη τα πολεμικα πραξινον τα πεπλανημενα επιστρεψον τον λαον σου αγιωσον. τους εν παρθενιᾳ διατηρησον τους εν γαμω διαφυλαξον εν πιστει. τους εν αγνειᾳ ενδυναμωσον. τα νηπια αδρυνον. τους νεοτελεις βεβαιωσον. τους εν κατηχησει παιδευ- 30 σον, και της μυησεως αξιους αναδειξον. και παντας ημας επισυναγαγε εις την των ουρανων βασιλειαν, εν Χριστω Ιησου τω κυριω ημων. μεθ' ου σοι δοξα, τιμη και σεβας, και τω αγιω πνευματι, εις τους αιωνας. αμην. και ο διακονος λεγετω. τω

Θεῷ διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ κλινάτε, καὶ εὐλογείσθε. καὶ ὁ επι-
σκοπὸς επευχεσθῶ, λεγων ὁ Θεος ὁ παντοκρατῶρ, ὁ ἀληθὺς ο
καὶ ασυγκρίτος, ὁ παντάχου ὧν καὶ τοις πατέρων καὶ εν
οὐδενὶ ὡς ενοντὶ ὑπάρχων, ὁ τοποὶ μη περιγραφομένος, ὁ χρο-
5 νοὶς μη παλαιούμενος, ὁ αἰωτὶ μη περατουμένος, ὁ λογοὶς μη
παραχρομένος, ὁ γενεσεὶ μη ὑποκειμένος, ὁ φυλακῆς μη δεομε-
νος, ὁ φθορᾶς ανωτερος, ὁ τροπῆς ανεπιδέκτος, ὁ φυσεὶ αναλ-
λοιωτος, ὁ φως οἰκου ἀπροσίτου, ὁ τῇ φυσεὶ αοράτος, ὁ γυνωστὸς
παταγὶς ταῖς μετ' ευνοιάς εκζητουσαῖς σε λογικαῖς φυσεσιν, ὁ
10 καταλαμβανομένος ὑπὸ τῶν εν ευνοίᾳ επιζητουντῶν σε· ὁ Θεος
Ισραὴλ, του ἀληθινῶς ὄρωντος, του εἰς Χριστον πιστευσαντος
λαοῦ σου· ευμενῆς γενομένος επακουσον μου διὰ το ονομα σου,
καὶ ευλογησον τους σοι κεκλικοτας τους ἐξαυτων αυχενας, καὶ
δος αυτοις τα αιτηματα των καρδιων αυτων τα επι συμφεροντι,
15 καὶ μηδενα αυτων αποβλητον ποιησης εκ της βασιλειας σου·
αλλα ἀγιασον αυτους, φρουρησον, σκεπασον, αντιλαβου, ρύσαι
του αλλοτριου, πάντος εχθρου, τους οικους αυτων φυλαξον,
τας εισόδους αυτων καὶ τας εξόδους φρουρησον· ὅτι σοι δοξα,
αινος, μεγαλοπρεπεια, σεβας, προσκυνησις, καὶ τῷ σῷ παιδὶ
20 Ιησου τῷ Χριστῷ σου τῷ κυριῷ ἡμῶν καὶ Θεῷ καὶ βασιλεῖ,
καὶ τῷ ἀγιῷ πνευματι, νῦν καὶ αεὶ καὶ εἰς τους αἰωνας των
αιωνων. αμην. καὶ ὁ διακονος ερει· απολυεσθε εν ειρηνῃ.

Constitutionum Apost. Lib. 8. Cotelarius. Amst. 1724. fol.

The Supper of the Lorde, AND THE HOLY COMMUNION, COMMONLY CALLED THE MASSE.

(According to the First Common Prayer Book of Edward VI. 1549.)

So many as intende to bee partakers of the holy Communion, shall sygnifie their names to the Curate, ouer night: or els in the morning, afore the beginning of Matins, or immediatly after.

And if any of those be an open and notorious cuill liuer, so that the congregacion by hym is offended, or haue doen any wrong to his neighbours, by worde, or dede: The Curate shall call hym, & aduertise hym, in any wise not to presume to the lordes table, vntill he haue openly declared hymselfe, to haue truly repented, and amended his former naughtie life: that the congregacion maie thereby be satisfied, whiche afore were offended: and that he haue recompensed the parties, whom he hath dooen wrong vnto, or at the least bee in full purpose so to doo, as sone as he conueniently maie.

C The same ordre shall the Curate vse, with those betwixt whom he perceiueth malice, and hatred to reigne, not suffering them to bee partakers of the Lordes table, vntill he knowe them to bee reconciled. And yf one of the parties so at variaunce, be content to forgeue from the botome of his harte, all that the other hath trespassed against hym, and to make amendes, for that he hymself hath offended: and the other partie will not bee perswaded to a godly vnitie, but remaigne still in his frowardnes and malice: The Minister in that case, ought to admit the penitent persone to the holy Communion, and not hym that is obstinate.

C Upon the daie, and at the tyme appointed for the ministracion of the holy Communion, the Priest that shal execute the holy ministery, shall put vpon hym the vesture appointed for that ministracion, that is to saye: a white Albe plain, with a veste-ment or Cope. And where there be many Priestes, or Decons,

there so many shalbe ready to helpe the Priest, in the ministracion, as shalbee requisite: And shall haue vpon theim lyke-wise, the vestures appointed for their ministry, that is to saye, Albes, with tunacles. Then shall the Clerkes syng in Englishe for the office, or Introite, (as they call it) a Psalme appointed for that daie.

The Priest standing humbly afore the middes of the Altar, shall saie the Lordes praier, with this Collect.

ALMIGHTIE GOD, vnto whom all hartes bee open, and all desyres knownen, and from whom no secrete are hid: clese the thoughtes of our heartes, by the inspiracion of thy holy spirite: that we may perfectly loue thee, & worthely magnifie thy holy name: Through Christ our Lorde. Amen.

Then shall he saie a Psalme appointed for the introite: whiche Psalme ended, the Priest shall saye, or els the Clerkes shal syng.

- ijij. Lorde haue mercie vpon vs.
- ijij. Christ haue mercie vpon vs.
- ijij. Lorde haue mercie vpon vs.

*Then the Prieste standyng at Goddes borde shall begin.
Glory be to God on high.*

The Clerkes.

And in yearth peace, good will towardes men.

We praise thee, we blesse thee, we worship thee, we glorie thee, wee geue tankes to thee for thy greate glory, O Lorde GOD heauenly kyng, God the father almighty.

O Lorde the onely begotten sonne Jesu Christe, O Lorde God, Lambe of GOD, sonne of the father, that takest awaie the synnes of the worlde, haue mercie vpon vs: thou that takest awaie the synnes of the worlde, receiue our praier.

Thou that sittest at the right hande of GOD the father, haue mercie vpon vs: For thou onely art holy, thou onely art the Lorde. Thou onely (O Christ) with the holy Ghoste, art moste high in the glory of God the father. Amen.

*Then the priest shall turne hym to the people and saye.
The Lorde be with you.*

The aunsweare.

And with thy spirite.

The Priest.

Let vs praiē.

Then shall folowe the Collect of the daie, with one of these two Collectes folowynge, for the Kyng.

A LMIGHTIE God, whose kingdom is euerlasting, and power infinite, haue mercie vpon the whole congregacion, and so rule the heart of thy chosen seruaunt Edward the sixt, our kyng and gouernour: that he (knowyng whose minister he is) maie aboue al thinges, seke thy honour and glory, & that we his subiectes (duely consydering whose auctoritie he hath) maye faithfully serue, honour, and humbly obeye him, in thee, and for thee, according to thy blessed word, and ordinaunce: Through Jesus Christe oure Lorde, who with thee, and the holy ghost, liueth, and reigneth, euer one God, worlde without endc. Amen.

A LMIGHTIE and euerlasting GOD, we bee taught by thy holy worde, that the heartes of Kynges are in thy rule and gouernaunce, and that thou doest dispose, and turne them as it semeth best to thy godly wisedom: We humbly beseche thee, so to dispose and gouerne, the hart of Edward the sixt, thy seruaunt, our Kyng and gouernour, that in all his thoughtes, wordes, and workes, he maye euer seke thy honour and glory, and study to preserue thy people, committed to his charge, in wealth, peace, and Godlynes: Graunt this, O mercifull father, for thy dere sonnes sake, Jesus Christ our Lorde. Amen.

The Collectes ended, the priest, or he that is appointed, shall reade the Epistle, in a place assigned for the purpose, saying.

The Epistle of sainte Paule written in the Chapiter
of to the.

The Minister then shall reade the Epistle. Immediately after the Epistle ended, the priest, or one appointed to reade the Gospel, shall saie.

The holy Gospell written in the Chapiter of.

The Clearkes and people shall aunsweare.

Glory be to thee, O Lorde.

The priest or deacon then shall reade the Gospel: after the Gospell ended, the priest shall begin.

I belieue in one God.

The clerkes shall syng the rest.

The father almighty maker of heauen and yearth, and of all thinges visible, and inuisible: And in one Lorde Jesu Christ, the onely begotten sonne of GOD, begotten of his father before all worldes, God of GOD, light of light, very God of very God, begotten, not made, beeyng of one substaunce with the father, by whom all thinges were made, who for vs men, and for our saluacion, came doun from heauen, and was incarnate by the holy Ghoste, of the Virgin Mary, and was made manne, and was Crucified also for vs vnder Poncius Pilate, he suffered and was buried, and the thirde daye he arose again according to the scriptures, and ascended into heauen and sitteth at the right hande of the father: And he shall come again with glory, to iudge both the quicke and the dead.

And I believe in the holy ghost, the Lorde and geuer of life, who procedeth from the father and the sonne, who with the father and the sonne together, is worshipped and glorified, who spake by the Prophetes. And I beleue one Catholike and postolike Churche. I acknowlege one Baptisme, for the remission of synnes. And I loke for the resurreccion of the deade: and the lyfe of the worlde to come. Amen

After the Crede ended, shall folowe the Sermon or Homely, or some porcion of one of the Homelyes, as thei shalbe hereafter deuided: wherin if the people bee not exhorted, to the worthy receiuyng of the holy Sacrament, of the bodye & bloude of our savior Christ: then shal the Curate geue this exhortacion, to those y^e. be minded to receiue y^e. same.

DEREPLY beloued in the Lord, ye that mynde to come to the holy Communion of the bodye & bloude of our savior Christe, must considre what S. Paule writeth to the Corinthiās, how he exhorteth all personnes diligently to trie & examine theselues, before they presume to eate of that breade, and drinke of that cup: for as the benefite is great, if with a truly penitent heart, & liuely faith, we receive that holy Sacramēt: (for then we spiritually eate the fleshe of Christ, & drinke his bloude, then we dwell in Christ & Christ in vs, wee bee made one with

Christ, and Christ with vs) so is the daunger great, yf wee receyue the same vnworthely, for then wee become gyltie of the body and bloud of Christ our sauior, we eate and drinke our owne damnacion, not considering the Lordes bodye. We kyndle Gods wrathe ouer vs : we prouoke him to plague vs with diuerse dyseases, and sondery kyndes of death. Therefore if any here be a blasphemer, aduouterer, or bee in malyce or enuie, or in any other greuous cryme (except he bee truly sory therefore, and earnestly mynded to leaue the same vices, and do trust him selfe to bee reconciled to almighty God, and in Charitie with all the worlde) lette him bewayle his synnes, and not come to that holy table, lest after the taking of that most blessed breade: the deuyll enter into him, as he dyd into Judas, to fyll him full of all iniquitie, and bryng him to destruccion, bothe of body and soule. Judge therfore your selfes (brethren) that ye bee not iudged of the lorde. Let your mynde be without desire to synne, repent you truely for your synnes past, haue an earnest & lyuely faith in Christ our sauior, be in perfect charitie with all men, so shall ye be mete partakers of those holy misteries. And aboue all thynges : ye must geue moste humble and hartie thankes to God the father, the sonne, and the holy ghost, for the redempcion of the worlde, by the death and passion of our sauior Christ, both God and man, who did humble him self euen to the death vpon the crosse, for vs miserable synners, whiche laie in darknes and shadowe of death, that he myghte make vs the children of God : and exalt vs to euerlasting life. And to thend that wee should alwaye remembre the excedyng loue of oure master, and onely sauior Jesu Christe, thus diyng for vs, and the innumerable benefites (whiche by his precious bloudshedyng) he hath obteigned to vs, he hath lefte in those holy Misteries, as a pledge of his loue, & a continual remēbraunce of the same his owne blessed body, & precious bloud, for vs to fede vpon spiritually, to our endles comfort & consolacion. To him therfore with the father and the holy ghost, let vs geue (as we are most bounden) continual thankes, submittynge our selfes wholy to hys holy will and pleasure, & studying to serue hym in true holines and righteousnes, al the daies of our life. Amen.

In Cathedral churches or other places, where there is dailie Communion, it shal be sufficient to reade this exhortacion aboue

written, once in a moneth. And in parish churches, vpon the
weke daies it may be lefte vnsayed.

¶ And if vpon the Sunday or holy daye, the people be negligent to come to the Communion: Then shall the Priest earnestly exhorte his parishoners, to dispose themselves to the receiuing of the holy communion more diligently, saying these or like wordes vnto them.

DERE frendes, and you especially vpon whose soules I haue
cure and charge, on next, I do intende by Gods
grace, to offre to all suche as shalbe godlye disposed, the moste
comfortable Sacrament of the body and bloud of Christ, to be
taken of them, in the remembraunce of his moste fruitfull and
glorious Passyon: by the whiche passion, we haue obteigned
remission of our synnes, and be made partakers of the kyngdom
of heauen, whereof wee bee assured and assereteigned, yf wee
come to the sayde Sacrament, with hartie repentaunce for our
offences, stedfast faithe in Goddes mercye, and earnest mynde to
obeye Goddes will, and to offend no more. Wherefore our
duetie is, to come to these holy misteries, with moste heartie
thankes to bee geuen to almighty GOD, for his infinite mercie
and benefites geuen and bestowed vpon vs his vnworthye ser-
uauntes, for whom he hath not onely geuen his body to death,
and shed his bloude, but also doothe vouchsaue in a Sacrament
and Mistry, to geue vs his sayed bodye and bloud to feede vpon
spiritually. The whyche Sacrament beyng so Diuine and holy a
thyng, and so comfortable to them whiche receyue it worthilye,
and so daungerous to them that wyll presume to take the same
vnworthely: My duetie is to exhorte you in the meane season, to
consider the greatness of the thing, and to serche and examine
your owne consciences, and that not lyghtly nor after the maner
of dissimulers with GOD: But as they whiche shoulde come to
a moste Godly and heauenly Banquet, not to come but in the
mariage garment required of God in scripture, that you may (so
muche as lieth in you) be founde worthie to come to suche a table.
The waies and meanes therto is,

First that you be truly repentaſit of your former euill life, and that you confesse with an vnfained hearte to almighty God, youre synnes and vnykyndnes towardes his Maiestic committed, either by will, worde or dede, infirmitie or ignoraunce, and that

with inward sorowe & teares you bewaile your offences, & require of almighty god, mercie, & pardon, promising to him (from the botome of your hartes) thanendment of your former lyfe. And emonges all others, I am commaunded of God, especially to moue and exhorte you, to reconcile your selfes to your neighbors, whom you haue offended, or who hath offended you, putting out of your heartes al hatred and malice against them, and to be in loue and charitie with all the worlde, and to forgeue other, as you woulde that God should forgeue you. And yf any man haue doen wrōg to any other: let him make satisfaccion, and due restitucion of all landes & goodes, wronfully taken awaye or with holden, before he come to Goddes borde, or at the least be in ful minde and purpose so to do, assone as he is able, or els let him not come to this holy table, thinking to deceyue God, who seeth al mēnes hartes. For neither the absolucion of the priest, can any thing auayle them, nor the receiuyng of this holy sacrament doth any thing but increase their damnacion. And yf there be any of you, whose conscience is troubled & greued in any thing, lackyng comforde or counsaill, let him come to me, or to some other dyscrete and learned priest, taught in the law of God, and confesse and open his synne & grieve secretly, that he maye receiue suche ghostly counsaill, aduyse and comfort, that his conscience maye be releued, and that of vs (as of the Ministers of GOD and of the churche) he may receiue comfort and absolucion, to the satisfaccion of his mynde, and auoyding of all scruple and doubtfulnes: requiryng suche as shalbe satisfied with a generall confession, not to be offended with them that doo vse, to their further satisfiying the auricular and secret confession to the Priest: nor those also whiche thinke nedefull or conuenient, for the quietnes of their awne cōsciences particularly to open their sinnes to the Priest: to bee offended with them that are satisfied, with their humble confession to GOD, and the generall confession to the churche. But in all thinges to folowe and kepe the rule of charitie, and euery man to be satisfied with his owne conscience, not iudgyng other mennes myndes or consciences: where as he hath no warrant of Goddes word to thesame.

¶ *Then shall folowe for the Offertory, one or mo, of these Sentences of holy scripture, to bee song whiles the people doo offer, or els one of theim to bee saied by the minister, immediatly afore the offeryng.*

Math. v.

Let your light so shine before men, that they maye see your good woorkes, and glorify your father whiche is in heauen.

Math. vi.

Laie not vp for your selfes treasure vpon the yearth, where the rust and mothe doth corrupt, and where theues breake through and steale: But laie vp for your selfes treasures in heauen, where neyther ruste nor mothe doth corrupt, and where theues do not breake through nor steale.

Math. vii.

Whatsoeuer you would that menne should do vnto you, euen so do you vnto them, for this is the Law and the Prophetes.

Math. vii.

Not euery one that saith vnto me, lorde, lorde, shall entre into the kyngdom of heauen, but he that doth the will of my father whiche is in heauen.

Luc. xix.

Zache stode furthe, and saied vnto the Lorde: beholde Lorde, the halfe of my goodes I geue to the poore, and if I haue doen any wrong to any man, I restore foure fold.

. Cor. ix.

Who goeth a warfare at any tyme at his owne cost? who planteth a vineyarde, and eateth not of the fruite thereof? Or who fedeth a flocke, and eateth not of the milke of the flocke?

. Cor. ix.

If we haue sownen vnto you spirituall thinges, is it a great matter yf we shall reapen your worldly thynges?

. Cor. ix.

Dooe ye not knowe, that they whiche minister aboute holy thinges, lyue of the Sacrifice? They whiche waite of the alter, are partakers with the alter? euen so hath the lorde also ordained: that they whiche preache the Gospell, should liue of the Gospell.

. Cor. ix.

He whiche soweth litle, shall reapen litle, and he that soweth plenteously, shall reapen plenteously. Let euery manne do accordyng as he is disposed in his hearte, not grudgingly, or of necessitie, for God loueth a cherefull geuer.

Gala. vi.

Let him that is taught in the woerde, minister vnto hym that teacheth, in all good thinges. Be not deceiued, GOD is not mocked. For whatsoeuer a man soweth, that shall he reapen.

Gala. vi.

While we haue tyme, let vs do good vnto all men, and specially vnto them, whiche are of the housshould of fayth.

. Timo. vi.

Godlynes is greate riches, if a man be contented with that he hath: For we brought nothing into the worlde, neither maie we eare any thing out.

. Timo. vi.

Charge theim whiche are riche in this worlde, that they bee ready to geue, and glad to distribute, laying vp in stoare for theimselfes a good foundacion, against the time to come, that they maie attain eternall lyfe.

GOD is not vwrighteous, that he will forget youre woorkes and labor, that procedeth of loue, whiche loue ye haue shewed for his names sake, whiche haue ministred vnto the saintes, and yet do minister. Hebre. vi.

To do good, & to distribute, forget not, for with suche Sacrifices Hebre. xiii. God is pleased.

Whoso hath this worldes good, and seeth his brother haue i. Jhon. iii. nede, & shutteth vp his compassion from hym, how dwelleth the loue of God in him?

Geue almose of thy goodes, and turne neuer thy face from any Toby. iiiii. poore man, and then the face of the lorde shall not be turned awaye from thee.

Bee mercifull after thy power: if thou hast muche, geue plenteously, if thou hast little, do thy diligence gladly to geue of that little, for so gathereste thou thy selfe a good reward, in the daie of necessitie. Toby. iiiii.

He that hath pitie vpon the poore, lendeth vnto the Lorde: and Prouerbes xix. loke what he laieth out, it shalbe paied hym again.

Blessed be the man that prouideth for the sicke and nedy, the Psal. xli. lorde shall deliuer hym, in the tyme of trouble.

Where there be Clerkes, thei shal syng one, or many of the sentences aboue written, accordyng to the length and shortnesse of the tyme, that the people be offeryng.

In the meane tyme, whyles the Clerkes do syng the Offertory, so many as are disposed, shall offer vnto the poore mennes boxe every one accordyng to his habilitie and charitable mynde. And at the offeryng daies appoynted: euery manne and woman shall paie to the Curate, the due and accustomed offerynges.

Then so manye as shalbe partakers of the holy Communion, shall tary still in the quire, or in some conuenient place, nigh the quire, the men on the one side, and the women on the other syde. All other (that mynde not to receive the said holy Communion) shall departe out of the quire, except the ministers and Clerkes.

Then shall the minister take so muche Bread and Wine, as shall suffice for the persons appoynted to receive the holy Communion, laiyng the breade vpon the corporas, or els in the paten, or in some other comely thyng, prepared for that pur-

pose. And puttynge the wyne into the Chalice, or els in some faire or conueniente cup, prepared for that vse (if the Chalice wil not serue) puttynge thereto a litle pure and cleane water: And settynge both the breade and wyne vpon the Alter: Then the Prieste shall saye.

The Lorde be with you.

Aunswere.

And with thy spirite.

Priest.

Lift vp your heartes.

Aunswere.

We lift them vp vnto the Lorde.

Priest.

Let vs geue thankes to our Lorde God.

Aunswere.

It is mete and right so to do.

The Priest.

IT is very mete, righte, and our boūden dutie that wee shoulde at all tymes, and in all places, geue thankes to thee, O Lorde, holy father, almighty euerlastyng God.

¶ *Here shall folowe the proper preface, accordyng to the tyme (if there bee any specially appoynted) or els immediatly shall folowe. Therefore with Angelles. &c.*

PROPRE PREFACES.

¶ Upon Christmas daie.

BECAUSE thou diddeste geue Jesus Christe, thyne onely sonne to bee borne, as this daye for vs, who by the operacion of the holy ghoste, was made very man, of the substaunce of the Virgin Mari his mother, and that without spot of sinne, to make vs cleane from all synne. Therfore. &c.

¶ Upon Easter daie.

BUT chiefly are we bound to praise thee, for the glorios resurreccion of thy sonne Jesus Christe, our Lorde, for he is the very Pascall Lambe, whiche was offered for vs, & hath taken awaie the synne of the worlde, who by his death hath destroyed

death, and by his risyng to life againe, hath restored to vs euerlastynge life. Therefore. &c.

¶ Upon the Assencion daye.

THROUGH thy most dere beloued sonne, Jesus Christ our Lorde, who after his moste glorious resurreccion, manifestly appered to all his disciples, and in their sight ascended vp into heauen, to prepare a place for vs, that where he is, thither mighte we also ascende, and reigne with hym in glory. Therfore. &c.

¶ Upon Whitsondaye.

THROUGH Jesus Christ our Lorde, accordyng to whose moste true promise, the holy Ghoste came doun this daye frō heauen, with a sodain great sound, as it had been a mightie wynde, in the likenes of fiery tounges, lightyng vpon the Apostles, to teache them, and to leade them to all trueth, geuyng them bothe the gifte of diuerse languages, and also boldnes with feruent zeale, constantly to preache the Gospell vnto all nacions, whereby we are brought out of darkenes and error, into the cleare light and true knowlege of thee, and of thy sonne Jesus Christ. Therfore. &c.

¶ Upon the feast of the Trinitie.

IT is very meete, righte, and oure bounden duetie, that we should at al tymes, and in al places, geue thankes to thee O Lorde, almightye euerlasting God, whiche arte one God, one Lorde, not one onely person, but three personnes in one substaunce: For that which we beleue of the glory of the father, thesame we beleue of the sōne, and of the holy ghost, without any difference, or inequalitie, whom the Angels, &c.

After whiche preface shall folowe immediatly.

Therfore with Angels and Archangels, and with all the holy compayne of heauen: we laude and magnify thy glorious name, euermore praisyng thee, and saying:

Holy, holy, holy, Lorde God of Hostes: heauen & earth are full of thy glory: Osanna in the highest. Blessed is he that commeth in the name of the Lorde: Glory to thee O lorde in the highest. *This the Clerkes shal also syng.*

¶ When the Clerkes haue dooen syngyng, then shall the Priest, or Deacon, turne hym to the people and saye.

Let vs praike for the whole state of Christes churche.

C Then the Priest turnyng hym to the Altar, shall saye or syng, playnly and distinctly, this prayer folowyng.

A LMIGHTE and euerliuyng God, whiche by thy holy Apostle haste taught vs to make prayers and supplicacions, and to gene thankes for al menne: We humbly beseche thee moste mercyfully to receiue these our praiers, which we offre vnto thy diuine Maiestie, beseching thee to inspire cōtinually the vniuersal churche, with the spirite of trueth, vnitie and concorde: And graunt that al they that do cōfesse thy holy name, maye agree in the trueth of thy holye worde, and liue in vnitie and godly loue. Speciallye we beseche thee to saue and defende thy seruaunt, Edwarde our Kyng, that vnder hym we maye be Godly and quietly gouerned. And graunt vnto his whole coūsaille, and to all that be put in auctoritie vnder hym, that they maye truely and indifferently minister iustice, to the punishmente of wickednesse and vice, and to the maintenaunce of Goddes true religion and vertue. Geue grace (O heauenly father) to all Bishoppes, Pastors, and Curates, that thei maie bothe by their life and doctrine, set furthe thy true and lively worde, and rightely and duely administer thy holy Sacramentes. And to al thy people geue thy heauenly grace, that with meke heart and due reuerence, they may heare and receiue thy holy worde, truely seruyng thee in holynes and righteousnes, all the dayes of their life: And we most hūbly beseche thee of thy goodnes (O Lorde) to coumfort and succour all them, whyche in thys transitory life be in trouble, sorowe, nede, syckenes, or any other aduersitie. And especially we commend vnto thy mercifull goodnes, this congregacion which is here assembled in thy name, to celebrate the commemoracion of the most glorious death of thy sonne: And here we do geue vnto thee moste high praise, and hartie thankes for the wonderfull grace and vertue, declared in all thy sainctes, from the begynning of the worlde: And chiefly in the glorious and moste blessed virgin Mary, mother of thy sonne, Jesu Christe our Lorde and God, and in the holy Patriarches, Prophetes, Apostles and Martyrs, whose examples (o Lorde) and stedfastnes in thy fayth, and kepyng thy holy commaundementes: graunt vs to folowe. We commend vnto thy mercye (O Lorde) all other thy seruauntes, which are departed hence from vs, with the signe of faith, and nowe do reste in the slepe of peace: Graūt vnto them, we beseche thee, thy mercy, and

euerlasting peace, and that at the day of the generall resurreccion, we and all they which bee of the misticall body of thy sonne, may altogether be set on his right hand, and heare that his most ioyfull voyce : Come vnto me, O ye that be blessed of my father, and possesse the kingdom, whiche is prepared for you, from the begynning of the worlde : Graunt this, O father, for Jesus Christes sake, our onely mediatour and aduocate.

O God heauenly father, which of thy tender mercie, diddest geue thine only sonne Jesu Christ, to suffre death vpon the crosse for our redempcion, who made there (by his one oblacion once offered) a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblacion, and satysfacyon, for the synnes of the whole worlde, and did institute, and in his holy Gospell commaund vs, to celebrate a perpetuall memory, of that his precious death, vntyll his comming again : Heare vs (o merciful father) we besech thee : and with thy holy spirite & worde, vouchsafe to bl~~H~~esse and sanc~~H~~tifie these thy gyftes, and creatures of bread and wyne, that they maie be vnto vs the bodye and bloude of thy moste derely beloued sonne Jesus Christe. Who in thesame nyght that he was betrayed: tooke breade, and when he had blessed, and geuen thankes : he brake it, and gaue it to his disciples, saiyng : Take, eate, this is my bodye which is geuen for you, do this in remembraunce of me.

Likewyse after supper he tooke the cuppe, and when he had geuen thankes, he gaue it to them, saiyng : drynk ye all of this, for this is my bloude of the newe Testament, whyche is shed for you and for many, for remission of synnes : do this as oft as you shall drinke it in remembraunce of me.

*Here the
prieste must
take the bread
into his handes*

*Here the
priest shall
take the Cuppe
into his handes*

*These wordes before rehersed are to be saied, turning still to the
Altar, without any eleuacion, or shewing the Sacrament to the
people.*

WHERFORE, O Lorde and heauenly father, accordyng to the Instytucion of thy derely beloued sonne, our sauour Jesu Christ, we thy humble seruauntes do celebrate, and make here before thy diuine Maiestie, with these thy holy giftes, the memoryall whyche thy sonne hath wylled vs to make, hauing in remembraunce his blessed passion, mightie resurreccyon, and gloryous ascencion, renderyng vnto thee most hartie thankes, for the innumerable benefites procured vnto vs by thesame, entierely desiryng thy fatheryl goodnes, mercifully to accepte this our Sacrifice of praise and thankes geuing: most humbly

beseching thee to graunt, that by the merites and death of thy sōne Jesus Christ, and through faith in his bloud, we and al thy whole church, may obteigne remission of our sinnes, and all other benefites of hys passyon. And here wee offre and present vnto thee (O Lorde) oure selfe, oure soules, and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy, and liuely sacrifice vnto thee: humbly besechynge thee, that whosoeuer shalbee partakers of thys holy Communion, maye worthely receiue the moste precious body and bloude of thy sonne Jesus Christe: and bee fulfilled with thy grace and heauenly benediccion, and made one bodye with thy sonne Jesu Christe, that he maye dwell in them, and they in hym. And although we be vnworthy (through our manyfolde synnes) to offre vnto thee any Sacryfice: Yet we beseche thee to accepte thys our bounden duetie and seruice, and commaunde these our prayers and supplicacions, by the Ministry of thy holy Angels, to be brought vp into thy holy Tabernacle before the syght of thy dyuine maiestie: not waiyng our merites, but pardonyng our offences, through Christe our Lorde, by whome, and with whome, in the vnitie of the holy Ghost: all honour and glory, be vnto thee, O father almighty, world without ende. Amen.

Let vs praye.

AS our sauiour Christe hath commaunded and taught vs, we are bolde to saye. Our father whyche art in heauen, halowed be thy name. Thy Kyngdome come. Thy wyll be doen in yearth, as it is in heauen. Geue vs this daye our dayly breade. And forgeue vs our trespasses, as wee forgeue them that trespassse agaynst vs. And leade vs not into temptacion.

The aunsweare.

But deliuer vs from euill. Amen.

Then shall the priest saye.

The peace of the Lorde be alwaye with you.

The Clerkes.

And with thy spirite.

The Priest.

CHRIST our Pascall lambe is offred vp for vs, once for al, when he bare our sinnes on hys body vpon the crosse, for he is the very lambe of God, that taketh away the sinnes of the

worlde: wherfore let vs kepe a ioysfull and holy feast with the Lorde.

Here the priest shall turne hym toward those that come to the holy Communion, and shall saye.

YOU that do truly and earnestly repent you of your synnes to almighty God, and be in loue and charitie with your neigbours, and entende to lede a newe life, folowynge the commaundementes of God, and walkyng from hencefurth in his holy wayes: drawe nere and take this holy Sacrament to your comforde, make your humble confession to almighty God, and to his holy church here gathered together in hys name, mekely knelyng vpon your knees.

Then shall thys generall Confession bee made, in the name of al those that are minded to receiue the holy Communion, eyther by one of them, or els by one of the ministers, or by the prieste hymselfe, all kneling humbly vpon their knees.

ALMYGHTIE GOD father of oure Lord Jesus Christ, maker of all thynges, iudge of all men, we knowlege and bewaile our manyfold synnes and wyckednes, which we from tyme to tyme, most greuously haue committed, by thought, word and dede, agaynst thy diuine maiestie, prouoking moste iustly thy wrath and indignacion against vs, we do earnestly repent & be hartely sory for these our misdoinges, the remembraunce of them is greuous vnto vs, the burthen of them is intollerable: haue mercye vpon vs, haue mercie vpon vs, moste mercifull father, for thy sonne our Lorde Jesus Christes sake, forgeue vs all that is past, and graunt that we may euer hereafter, serue and please thee in neunes of life, to the honor and glory of thy name: Through Jesus Christe our Lorde.

Then shall the Prieste stande vp, and turnyng hymselfe to the people, say thus.

ALMIGHTIE GOD our heauenly father, who of his great mercie, hath promysed forȝeuenesse of synnes to all them, whiche with hartye repentaunce and true fayth, turne vnto him: haue mercy vpon you, pardon and delyuer you from all youre sinnes, confirme and strēgthen you in all goodnes, and bring you to euerlasting lyfe: through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Then shall the Priest also say.

Heare what comfertable woordes our sauour Christ sayeth, to all that truely turne to him.

Come vnto me all that trauell and bee heauy laden, and I shall refreshe you. So God loued the worlde that he gaue his onely begotten sonne, to the ende that al that beleue in hym, shoulde not perishe, but haue lyfe euerlasting.

Heare also what saint Paul sayeth.

This is a true saying, and woorthie of all men to bee receiued, that Jesus Christe came into thys worlde to sau sinners.

Heare also what saint John sayeth.

If any man sinne, we haue an aduocate with the father, Jesus Christ the righteous, and he is the propiciation for our sinnen.

Then shall the Priest turnyng him to gods boord knele down, and say in the name of all them, that shall receyue the Communion, this prayer folowing.

WE do not presume to come to this thy table (o mercifull lord) trusting in our owne righteousnes, but in thy manifold & great mercies: we be not woorthie so much as to gather vp the cromes vnder thy table, but thou art the same lorde whose propertie is alwayes to haue mercie: Graunt vs therfore (gracious lorde) so to eate the fleshe of thy dere sonne Jesus Christ, and to drynke his bloud in these holy Misteries, that we may continuallye dwell in hym, and he in vs, that oure synfull bodyes may bee made cleane by his body, and our soules washed through hys most precious bloud. Amen.

Then shall the Prieste firste receive the Communion in both kindes himselfe, and next deliuer it to other Ministers, if any be there presente (that they may bee ready to helpe the chiese Minister) and after to the people.

And when he deliuereth the Sacramente of the body of Christe, he shall say to every one these woordes.

The body of our Lorde Jesus Christe whiche was geuen for thee, preserue thy bodye and soule vnto euerlasting lyfe.

And the Minister deliuering the Sacrament of the bloud, and geuing every one to drinke once and no more, shall say.

The bloud of our Lorde Jesus Christe which was shed for thee, preserue thy bodye and soule vnto euerlasting lyfe.

If there be a Deacon or other Priest, then shal he folow with the Chalice: and as the priest ministreth the Sacrament of the body, so shal he (for more expedicion) minister the Sacrament of the bloud, in fourme before written.

In the Communion tyme the Clarkes shall syng.

ii. O lambe of god that takeste away the sinnes of the worlde: haue mercie vpon vs.

O lambe of god that takeste away the synnes of the worlde: graunt vs thy peace.

Beginning so soone as the Prieste doeth receyue the holy Communion: and when the Communion is ended, then shall the Clarkes syng the post Communion.

Sentences of holy scripture, to be sayd or song euery daye one, after the holy Communion, called the post Communion.

If any man will folowe me, let him forsake hymselfe, and take Math. xvi. vp his crosse and folowe me.

Whosoeuer shall indure vnto thende, he shalbe sauued.

Mar. xiii.

Prayesed be the Lorde god of Israell, for he hath visited and Lue. i. redemed hys people: therefore let vs serue hym all the dayes of our lyfe, in holines and righteousnes accepted before hym.

Happie are those seruauntes, whome the Lord (when he cum- Lue. xii. meth) shall fynde waking.

Be ye readye, for the sonne of manne will come, at an hower Lue. xii. when ye thinke not.

The seruaunte that knoweth hys maisters will, and hath not Lue. xii. prepared himself, neither hath doen according to his will, shalbe beaten with many stripes.

The howre cunmeth and now it is, when true woohippers John. iiiii. shall wurship the father in spirite and trueth.

Beholde, thou art made whole, sinne no more, lest any wurse John. v. thing happen vnto thee.

If ye shall continue in my woerde, then are ye my very disci- John. viii. ples, and ye shall knowe the truth, and the truth shall make you free.

While ye haue lighte, beleue on the lyght, that ye may be the John. xii. children of light.

He that hath my commaundemētes, and kepeth them, thesame John. xiiii. is he that loueth me.

If any man loue me, he will kepe my woerde, and my father Iohn. xiiii.

will loue hym, and wee will come vnto hym and dwell with hym.

ohn. xv. If ye shall byde in me, and my woerde shall abyde in you, ye shall aske what ye will, and it shall bee doen to you.

ohn xv. Herein is my father gloryfyed, that ye beare muche fruite, and become my disciples.

ohn. xv. This is my commaundement, that you loue together as I haue loued you.

Roma. viii. If God be on our syde, who can be agaynst vs ? which did not spare his owne sonne, but gaue him for vs all.

Rom. viii. Who shall lay any thing to the charge of Goddes chosen ? it is GOD that iustifyeth, who is he that can condemne ?

Rom. xiii. The nyght is passed, and the day is at hande, let vs therfore cast away the dedes of darkenes, and put on the armour of light.

. Corin. i. Christe Jesus is made of GOD, vnto vs wisedome, and righteousnes, and sanctifying, and redempcion, that (according as it is written) he whiche reioyceth shoulde reioyce in the Lorde.

. Corin. iii. Knowe ye not that ye are the temple of GOD, and that the spirite of GOD dwelleth in you ? if any manne defile the temple of GOD, him shall God destroy.

. Corin. vi. Ye are derely bought, therfore glorifye God in your bodies, and in your spirites, for they belong to God.

Ephes. v. Be you folowers of God as deare children, and walke in loue, euen as Christe loued vs, and gaue hymselfe for vs an offeryng and a Sacrifice of a sweete sauoure to God.

Then the Priest shall geue thankes to God, in the name of all them that haue communicated, turning him first to the people, and saying.

The Lorde be with you.

The aunsweare.

And with thy spirite.

The priest.

Let vs pray.

A LMIGHTYE and euerlyuyng GOD, we moste hartely thanke thee, for that thou hast vouchsafed to feede vs in these holy Misteries, with the spirituall foode of the moste precious body and bloud of thy sonne, our sauour Jesus Christ, and hast assured vs (duely receiuing the same) of thy fauour and

goodnes toward vs, and that we be very membres incorporate in thy Misticall bodye, whiche is the blessed companye of all faythfull people: and heyres through hope of thy euerlasting kingdome, by the merites of the most precious death and passion, of thy deare sonne. We therfore most humbly beseche thee, O heauenly father, so to assist vs with thy grace, that we may continue in that holy felowship, and doe all suche good woorkes, as thou hast prepared for vs to walke in, through Jesus Christe our Lorde, to whome with thee, and the holy goste, bee all honour and glory, world without ende.

Then the Priest turning hym to the people, shall let them depart with this blessing.

The peace of GOD (whiche passeth all vnderstanding) kepe your heartes and mindes in the knowledge and loue of GOD, and of hys sonne Jesus Christe our lorde. And the blessing of God almighty, the father, the sonne, and the holy gost, be emonges you, and remayne with you alway.

Then the people shall aunswere.

Amen.

Where there are no clerkes, there the Priest shall say al thinges appoynted here for them to sing.

When the holy Communion is celebrate on the workeday, or in priuate howses: Then may be omitted, the Gloria in excelsis, the Crede, the Homily, and the exhortacion, beginning.

Dearely beloued. &c.

Collectes to bee sayed after the Offertory, when there is no Communion, euery such day one.

ASSIST vs mercifully, O Lord, in these our supplicacions & praiers, and dispose the way of thy seruaentes, toward the attainement of euerlasting saluacyon, that emong all the chaunges and chaunces of thys mortall lyfe, they may euer bee defended by thy moste gracious and readye helpe: through Christe our Lorde. Amen.

O ALMIGHTIE Lorde and euerlyuyng GOD, vouchesafe, we beseche thee, to direct, sanctifye and gourne, both our heartes and bodies, in the wayes of thy lawes, and in the workes of thy cōmaundementes: that through thy most mightie protec-

cion, both here and euer, we may be preserued in body and soule : Through our Lorde and saviour Jesus Christ. Amen.

GRAUNT we beseche thee almighty god, that the wordes whiche we haue hearde this day with our outwarde eares, may throughe thy grace, bee so grafted inwardly in our heartes, that they may bring foorth in vs, the fruite of good liuing, to the honour and prayse of thy name : Through Jesus Christe our Lorde. Amen.

PREUENT vs, O lorde, in all our doinges, with thy most gracious fauour, and further vs with thy continuall helpe, that in al our woorkes begonne, continued and ended in thee : we may glorifye thy holy name, and finally by thy mercy obteine euerlasting life. Through. &c.

ALMIGHTIE God, the fountayn of all wisdome, which knowest our necessities beefore we aske, and our ignorance in asking: we beseche thee to haue compassion vpon our infirmities, and those thynges whiche for our vnwoorthines we dare not, and for our blindnes we can not aske, vouchsauing to gene vs for the woorthines of thy sonne Jesu Christ our Lorde. Amen.

ALMIGHTIE god, which hast promised to heare the petitions of them that aske in thy sonnes name, we beseche thee mercifully to inclyne thyne eares to vs that haue made nowe our prayers and supplicacions vnto thee, and graunte that those thynges whiche we haue faythfullye asked accordyng to thy will, maye effectually bee obteyned to the relieve of oure necessity, and to the settynge foorth of thy glorye: Through Jesus Christ our Lorde.

For rayne.

OGOD heauenly father, whiche by thy sonne Jesu Christ, hast promised to al thē that seke thy kingdom, & the righteousnes thereof, al thinges necessary to the bodey sustenaunce: send vs (we beseche thee) in this our necessitie, such moderate rayne and showers, that we may receiue the fruities of the earth, to our comfort and to thy honor: Through Jesus Christ our Lord.

For fayre wether.

OLORDE God, whiche for the sinne of manne, didst once drowne all the worlde, except eight persons, and afterwarde

of thy great mereye, didste promise neuer to destroy it so agayn : We hūbly beseche thee, that although we for oure iniquities haue woorthelye deserued this plague of rayne and waters, yet vpon our true repentaunce, thou wilt sende vs suchē wether wherby we may receiue the fruites of the earth in due season, and learne both by thy punishment to amende our liues, and by the graunting of our petition, to geue thee prayse and glory : Through Jesu Christ our Lorde.

¶ Upon wednesdaies & frydaies, the English Letany shalbe said or song in all places, after suchē forme as is appoynted by the kynges maiesties Iniuincions : Or as is or shal bee otherwyse appoynted by his highnes. And thoughē there be none to communicate with the Prieste, yet these dayes (after the Letany ended) the Priest shall put vpon hym a playn Albe or surplesse, with a cope, and say al thinges at the Altar (appoynted to bee sayde at the celebracyon of the lordes supper) vntill after the offertory. And then shall adde one or two of the Collectes afore written, as occasion shall serue by his discrecion. And then turning him to the people shall let them depart, with the accustomed blessing.

And the same order shall be vsed all other dayes, whensoeuer the people be customably assembled to pray in the churche, and none disposed to communicate with the Priest.

Lykewyse in Chapelles annexed, and all other places, there shalbe no celebracion of the Lordes supper, except there be some to communicate with the Priest. And in suchē Chapelles annexed where ye people hath not bene accustomed to pay any holy bread, there they must either make some charitable prouision for the bering of the charges of the Communion, or elles (for receyuyng of the same) resort to theyr Parish Churche.

For aduoyding of all matters and occasyon of dyscencyon, it is mete that the breade prepared for the Communion, bee made through all thys realme, after one sort and fashion : that is to say, vnleauened, and rounde, as it was afore, but without all maner of printe, and some thyng more larger and thicker then it was, so that it may be aptly deuided in diuers pieces : and euery one shall be deuided in two pieees, at the leaste, or more, by the discrecion of the minister, and so distributed. And menne muste not thynke lesse to be receyued in parte, then in

the whole, but in eache of them the whole body of our saviour Jesu Christ.

And forsomuche as the Pastours and Curates within thys realme, shal continually fynd at theyr costes and charges in theyr cures, sufficient Breade and Wyne for the holy Communion (as oft as theyr Parishioners shalbe disposed for theyr spiritual comfort to receyue the same) it is therefore ordred, that in recompence of suche costes and charges, the Parishioners of eucrye Parishe shall offer every Sonday, at the tyme of the Offertory, the iuste valour and price of the holy lufe (with all suche money, and other thinges as were wont to be offered with the same) to the vse of theyr Pastours and Curates, and that in suche ordre and course, as they were woon to fynde and pay the sayd holy lufe.

Also, that the receiuing of the Sacrement of the blessed body and bloud of Christ, may be most agreable to the institucion therof, and to the vsage of the primatiue Churche: In all Cathederall and Collgiate Churches, there shal alwaies some Communicate with the Prieste that ministreth. And that the same may bee also obserued every where abrode in the countrey: Some one at the least of that house in euery Parishe, to whome by course after the ordinaunce herein made, it apperteyneth to offer for the charges of the Communion, or some other whom they shall prouide to offer for them, shall receiue the holye Communion with the Prieste: the whiche may be the better doen, for that they knowe before, when theyr course commeth, and maie therfore dispose themselues to the worthie receiuyng of the Sacramente. And with hym or them who doeth so offre the charges of the Communion: all other, who be then Godly disposed thereunto, shall lykewyse receiue the Communion. And by this meanes the Minister hauyng alwaies some to communicate with hym, maie accordingly solemnise so high and holy misteries, with all the suffrages and due ordre appoynted for the same. And the Priest on the weke daie, shall forbeare to celebrate the Communion, excepte he haue some that will communicate with hym.

Furthermore, euery man and woman to be bound to heare and be at the diuine seruice, in the Parishe churche where they be resident, and there with deuout prayer, or Godlye silence and meditacion, to occupie themselues. There to paie their dueties,

to communicate once in the yeare at the least, and there to receyue, and take all other Sacramentes and rites, in this booke appoynted. And whosoeuer willyngly vpon no iust cause, doeth absent themselues, or doeth vngodly in the Parishe churche occupie themselues: vpon proffe therof, by the Ecclesiasticall lawes of the Realme to bee excommunicate, or suffre other punishment, as shall to the Ecclesiastical iudge (accordyng to his discrecion) seme conuenient.

And although it bee redde in aunciente writters, that the people many yeares past, received at the priestes handes, the Sacrament of the body of Christ in theyr owne handes and no commaundement of Christ to the contrary: Yet forasmuche as they manytymes conueyghed the same secretelye awaye, kept it with them, and diuersly abused it to supersticion and wickedenes: lest any suche thyng hereafter should be attempted, and that an vuniformtie might be vsed, throughoute the whole Realme: it is thought conuenient the people commonly receive the Sacrament of Christes body, in their mouthes, at the Priestes hande.

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THE END.

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